PREFACE

I must express my regret that circumstances entirely beyond my control have delayed the issue of this second volume for so long a period. Part of the book was already in print as far back as 1931. But the preoccupation of the University Press in printing certain under-graduate text-books, the difficulty of getting the maps ready and grave family bereavements are some of the reasons which delayed the publication of the volume. I have however utilized the time at my disposal by bringing up to date certain portions in the light of fresh material.

With this volume ends the analysis of the political history of the various dynasties that ruled in Northern India during the three or four centuries preceding the establishment of the imperialism of Delhi under the Turks. The beginnings of some of these dynasties however have been traced as far back as the middle of the sixth century A.D. while there were others which retained their vigour till the fourteenth century. The ruling tribes of some areas again were never thoroughly subjugated by the empire builders of Delhi while those of one area at least remained permanently outside their sphere of influence. The power of these dynasties during the period under survey, spread over a vast area extending from the Kishen Ganga in the north to the Godavari in the south and from the borders of Persia in the west to the Patkai hills in the east.

Though this volume is a continuation of the work undertaken in the first, it has got an individuality of its own. It deals entirely with Rajput dynasties most of which sprang up in the latter days of the Imperial Pratihāras. I hope it will be

of some use to the sudents of Hindu history in general and to those interested in Rajput history and the beginnings of Islam in India in particular.

Lack of space and a natural bias for facts have led me to keep my 'generalizations and idealizations' strictly under control. In this volume also I have accepted the humbler role of a builder of foundations rather than that of an architect, planning and raising an imposing superstructure and magnificent façade of History. I agree with the view that Indian history is at present in a much too primitive condition to attempt safely anything so ambitious. I have therefore consciously followed a method which has perhaps made this work less interesting to a certain class of students of Indian history.

As the press and the publishers here ordinarily accept no responsibility in the matter of Indexes of its publications, this heavy and mechanical work again fell on my shoulders. But thanks to the ungrudging assistance of my pupil, Mr. Matindramohan Sen, M.A., this task was very much lightened for me. I have added two new features to this volume. Firstly, I have accepted the suggestion of Prof. Jules Bloch (University of Paris) and prepared an index of ancient and mediaeval geographical names in the twenty maps contained in the two volumes. As the maps are drawn on different scales, I have often given in this index different latitudes and longitudes for the same place; this I admit is rather cumbrous but may be found to be more helpful to the general reader. Secondly, in addition to the Synchronistic Table, I have added a list of dynasties and the territories controlled by them chronologically arranged. As to the spelling of Sanskrit, Persian and modern names, I have followed the same system as in Volume I; the only exception is Brāhman for Brahman. I have again tried to correct any want of uniformity in spelling by providing in the indexes alternative forms of spelling of names.

The ten coloured maps of the first volume, imperfect as they were, met with the approval of Indian and foreign scholars I

have tried to effect some improvement in the ten tricolour maps of this volume. But lithography in Calcutta, so far as map-making of a technical nature is concerned, seems to be in a rather crude stage, and though I have tried to make the maps useful to students of Indian Historical Geography, I am not fully satisfied with their production. To Dr. H. C. Raychaudhury (Calcutta University), Mr. S. Dutt (St. Paul's College and Calcutta University), Mr. Chintaharan Chakravarti (Bethune College) and Mr. Matindramohan Sen, I am thankful for a few suggestions and help in correcting proofs of the maps.

To the Archaeological Survey of India I am indebted for a photograph of a portion of the Quwwat-ul-Islām Mosque at Delhi. In the twelfth century, Delhi was the great frontier outpost of the Cāhamāna empire. The site of the mosque and its neighbourhood contained fortifications and various buildings and places of worship of the Hindu dynasty. When I was in Delhi in December 1933, I noticed a portion of the ruins of the mosque which still shows clearly, in addition to a group of human forms, a beautiful female figure in *tribhanga* pose on one of the sculptured pillars of a Hindu temple. As the period under survey saw the foundation of Turko-Afghan imperialism on the bed-rock of old Indian civilization, the photograph in a way acts as a symbol for the whole work. I have therefore reproduced it on the jacket and cover of the volume.

My task of seeing the volume through the press was much facilitated by the courtesy and consideration of the officers of the Calcutta University Library, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Imperial Library and the University Press. In particular I am thankful to Mr. J. C. Chakravorti (Registrar, Calcutta University), Mr. Johan Van Manen, C.I.E., and Khan Bahadur Hidayat Hossain (General and Jt. Philological Secretaries, Asiatic Society of Bengal), and Mr. A. C. Ghatak (Superintendent, University Press), for help at various stages in the publication of the volume.

I have dedicated this volume to the memory of my father. I owe much of whatever success I have attained as a student of history to his advice and inspiration.

I conclude with the hope that my readers will find this volume, like its predecessor, of some use at least as "a preparatory clearing ground for more ambitious work."

DEPARTMENTS OF ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY
&
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UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA.
18th November, 1935.

HEM CHANDRA RAY

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GENEALOGICAL TABLES

LIST OF MAPS

LIST OF CONTRACTIONS

AAK	*Ā'īn-ī-Akbarī* Trans. by Blochmann and Jarrett.
ABOI	*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute*, Poona (India).
AGI	*The Ancient Geography of India* by Alexander Cunningham, 2nd edition. Edited by S. N. Majumdar, Sastri, Calcutta, 1924.
AO	*Antiquities of Orissa* by Rajendralala Mitra, Calcutta, 1875 and 1880.
AR	Tod's *Annals* and *Antiquities of Rajasthan*. Edited by William Crooke.
ARB	*Antiquarian Remains of the Bombay Presidency*.
ASI	*Archaeological Survey of India*. Annual Report.
ASI, WC	*Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*.
ASR	*Archaeological Survey Reports* by Cunningham.
ASWI	*Archaeological Survey of Western India*.
BEFEO	*Bulletin de L'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient*.
BG	*Bombay Gazetteer*.
BHG	*History of Gujarat* by Sir Edward Clive Bayley, London, 1886.
BI	*Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions of Kattywar*; published by the Bhavnagar Archaeological Department, Bhavnagar.
BR	*Buddhist Record of the Western World* by S. Beal.
Caliphate	*The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline and Fall* by William Muir.

CBMC	*Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit MSS. in the University Library, Cambridge*, by Bendall, Cambridge, 1883.
CCIM	*Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol. I*, by Vincent A. Smith, Oxford, 1906.
CHI	*Cambridge History of India.*
CI	Central India (Province).
CIC	*Catalogue of Indian Coins (Andhras and Kṣatrapas)* by E. J. Rapson, London, 1908.
CMI	*Coins of Mediaeval India* by Cunningham.
CP	Central Provinces of India.
CPMDN	*Catalogue of Palm-leaf and selected paper MSS. belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal*, by H. P. Sastri, with a Historical Introduction by Prof. C. Bendall, 1905, Calcutta.
CSBM	*Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS in the British Museum* by C. Bendall, London, 1902.
DHNI	*Dynastic History of Northern India (Early Mediaeval Period)* by H. C. Ray, Calcutta University; Vol. I, 1931; Vol. II, 1935.
DLI	*Descriptive List of Inscriptions in C. P. & Berar* by Hiralal, Nagpur, 1916.
EHI	*Early History of India*, 4th edition, by V. A. Smith.
EI	*Epigraphia Indica.*
EIA	*Essays on Indian Antiquities* by James Prinsep. Ed. by Edward Thomas, London, 1858.
Elliot	*The History of India as told by its own Historian* by Sir H. M. Elliot.
GDI	*Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, by N. Dey, Luzac, 1927.

GI	*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III, Gupta Inscriptions* by John Faithful Fleet, Calcutta, 1888.
GOS	*Gaekwad Oriental Series.*
HA	*History of Assam* by Sir Edward Gait, 2nd Ed., 1926, Calcutta, Thacker Spink & Co.
HR	*History of Rajputana* by Ojha (Rai Bahadur Pandit G. H.), Ajmer.
IA	*Indian Antiquary.*
IB	*Inscriptions of Bengal,* Vol. III. Edited with Translations and Notes by N. G. Majumdar, Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, 1929.
IGI	*Imperial Gazetteer of India.*
IHQ	*Indian Historical Quarterly.*
IHT	*Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* by F. E. Pargiter, London, 1922.
JA	*Journal Asiatique.*
JAOS	*Journal of American Oriental Society.*
JASB	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*
JBORS	*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.*
JBRAS	*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
JBTS	*Journal of the Buddhist Text Society.*
JL	*Journal of the Department of Letters,* University of Calcutta.
Journey	*A Journey in Nepal and Northern India* by C. Bendall, Cambridge University Press, 1886.
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* London.
KFB	*Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān* of Balādhurī. Trans. by Hitti and Murgotten.
KH	*Kitāb ul-Hind* of al-Bīrūnī.

KY	*Kitāb-i-Yamīnī* of 'Utbī. Translated by Reynolds from the Persian version, London.
KZA	*Kitāb Zain ul-Akhbār* of Abū Sa'īd 'Abd ul-Ḥayy b. ad-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Muḥammad Gardīzī (*c.* 440 A.H.). Ed. by Muḥammad Nazīm, Iranschahr, Berlin, 1928.
LEC	*Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* by Le Strange, Cambridge University Press.
Life	*Life of Hiuen Tsiang* by S. Beal.
M	*Mahārājādhirāja.*
MA	*Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī* of 'Alī Muḥammad Khān.
MASB	*Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*
MASI	*Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India.*
MER	*Madras Epigraphist's Report* by Dr. E. Hultzsch, Nos. 814, 815, Public. 6th August, 1896.
MG	*Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin* by M. Habib, 1927.
MM	Mukhaliṅgeśvara Temple at Mukhaliṅgam, Ganjam district (Madras).
NA	*Notes on Afghanistan* by Raverty.
NC	*Numismatic Chronicle.*
NKGWG	*Nachrichten der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.*
OH	*Oxford History of India* by V. A. Smith.
OM	*Orissa in the Making* by B. C. Mozumdar, 1925.
P	*Parameśvara.*
PASB	*Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*
Pb	*Paramabhaṭṭāraka.*
PB	*Pṛthvirājavijaya.*
PC	*Prabandhacintāmaṇi* of Merutuṅga Āchārya. Trans. by C. H. Tawney, Calcutta, 1901.
PI	*Preaching of Islam* by T. W. Arnold.

PTOC	*Proceedings and Transactions of the Oriental Conference* (India).
QJAHS	*Quarterly Journal of Andhra Historical Society.*
Ras	Forbes' *Ras Mala.* Edited by Rawlinson, Oxford, 1924.
RGD	*Records of the Gupta Dynasty* by Edward Thomas, London, 1876.
RMR	*Rajputana Museum Report.*
Śāhis von Kabul	*Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth zum Doctor-Jubiläum,* Stuttgart, 1893. *Zur Geschichte der Śāhis von Kabul* by Marc Aurel Stein.
SC	*Sasanian Coins* by F. D. J. Paruck, Bombay, 1924.
TA	*Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī,* Bibliotheca Indica. Trans. by B. Dey.
TF	*Ta'rīkh-i-Firishta.*
TFSB	*Ta'rīkh-i-Fīrūzshāhī* of Baranī.
TFSS	*Ta'rīkh-i-Fīrūzshāhī* of Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf
TH	*Ta'rīkh-ul-Hind* of al-Bīrūnī.
TK	*Tuḥfat ul-Kirām* of 'Ali Shīr Qānī'.
TKA	*Al-Ta'rīkh ul-Kāmil* of Ibn ul-Athīr.
TM	*Ta'rīkh-i-Ma'ṣūmī.*
TN	*Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* of Maulānā Minhāj ud-Dīn. Translated by Raverty.
TRAS	*Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.*
UP	The United Provinces of India.
WZKM	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.* Also known as 'Vienna Oriental Journal.'
YC	*On Yuan Chwang,* by Thomas Watters, Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1904.
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*

Hammurapi. The most important events of the later Hittite empire are the battle of Kadeš between king Muwatalliš and Ramses II of Egypt (1305 B. C.), and Hattušil's treaty with the same Pharaoh in the twenty-first year of the latter's reign (1289 B. C.). The great Hittite emperor Šuppiluliumaš was a contemporary of Pharaoh Amenophis III (c. 1419-1384) and outlived also his successor (c. 1384-68).

In the earliest period the Hittites seem to have been divided into a number of city-states, the most important of them being Zalpa, Neša and Kuššar—each of which attained supremacy one after another and was undoubtedly influenced by the incredibly early Assyrian commercial settlements in Cappadocia. At the next stage the hegemony seems to have passed permanently to the kingdom of Hatti: the third Hatti ruler Muršiliš I actually conquered Babylon but could not retain it for a long time. This sudden expansion seems however to have been detrimental to the Hittite empire, for there followed a long period of anarchy which was put an end to by the wise ruler Telepinuš about 1650 B.C. The history of the older Hittite empire ends abruptly at this point. After almost a complete blank of two centuries the Hittites again emerge on the stage of history—this time to fight against Mitanni, the most powerful State founded by the Hurrians in northern Mesopotamia. The great age of Hittite history was reached under the rule of Šuppiluliumaš (1395-55 B. C.) who made the conquered Mitanni-kingdom a buffer state against the rising power of Aššur. But danger came from the quarter whence it was least expected: it came from the country of Ahhijawā on the western fringe of the Peninsula, and from Arzawa in the south. There was a mighty coalition of Ahhijawā, Arzawa and other countries of Asia Minor against the Hittite king Arnuwandaš (C. 1230-15). This was the beginning of the end to all appearance. The state which even after Suppiluliumaš was undoubtedly the greatest power in western Asia for more than a century,

thus came to an abrupt and inglorious end, and so completely disappeared from history that practically nothing was known about its people until quite in recent times modern archaeologists and philologists made them directly speak to us.

The Hittite language, though not its name, was discovered by Knudzon in 1902 from two letters excavated at Tell-el-Amarna. These are usually called the Arzawa-letters, because one of them is from Amenophis III of Egypt to Tarhundaraba, the king of Arzawa. The scanty material of these two letters was enough to convince Knudzon that the language in which they were composed was Indo-European. It was possible to decipher these letters only because they are full of Sumero-Akkadian ideogrammes which left little doubt as to the general tenor of their contents. Abundant material for systematic study of the language was however soon available when Winckler after his epoch-making excavations at Boghaz-köi unearthed the State-archives of the Hittite emperors. Yet little progress was made in Hittite studies, for Winckler fell ill and died (1913), and after his death the Boghaz-köi records were relegated to Assyriologists in consideration of the cuneiform script in which they are written. But the Assyriologists could not make much headway even though they could easily read the records and had at their disposal fragments of Akkado-Hittite bilingual texts. Yet, after all, it was the Assyriologist Hrozny who in 1914 for the first time fully deciphered some Hittite texts, and even the warring world was startled by his announcement that the language deciphered by him is Indo-European. Since then Hittite studies have progressed by leaps and bounds.

It has been said above that Assyriologists *could* easily read the Hittite texts written in cuneiform script. This statement is to be taken literally, for even now there are differences of opinion as to how particular signs *should* be read. The Hittites had adopted the Akkadian cuneiform system for writing their language, but that system consists of a number

of syllabic signs. The sounds constituting syllables had not been isolated by the Akkadians, so that the Hittites using their script had to take recourse to various make-shifts when any combination of the syllabic signs at their disposal could not give an accurate picture of the sounds they wished to express. And the Akkadian syllabic signs were such that many common sounds or sound-combinations could not be expressed by them, although the Hittites used no less than one hundred and thirty-seven such signs. On the other hand, many words could be, and used to be, written in various ways by means of these borrowed syllabic signs.

First and foremost, it is impossible to express initial or final double-consonance, or tri-consonance, by means of the Akkadian syllabary used by the Hittites—for the simple reason that no sign of this syllabary begins or ends with double consonance. This serious flaw in the system had however no significance for Sumero-Akkadian, which had no consonant-groups at the beginning or end of a word and no groups of more than two consonants in the interior of a word. But that was not at all the case with Hittite. Unetymological and unpronounced vowels had therefore to be frequently introduced by the Hittites into the graphic forms of words of their language. Thus the prefix *pra* (<I. E, **pro*) could not be expressed in Hittite writing because it begins with the consonant-group *pr*. The graphic form of Hittite *pra* is in fact *pa-ra-a* (three signs). Mute vowels had to be introduced into written forms also when words ended with consonant-groups (e.g. *e-eš-ta* for *ēst*) or contained groups of three consonants (e.g. *li-in-ik-ta* for *linkt*). It is clear that no homogeneous system of spelling could be maintained in this state of things. Thus the word *tametaz*, for example, could be written *ta-me-ta-az*, *tam-e-ta-az*, *ta-me-it-az*, etc. The first problem confronting the student of Hittite is therefore to determine the non-phonetic pleonastic vowels present in the graphic form of almost every word. Moreover, the Hittites were

averse to beginning a word only with a vowel-sign or a syllabic sign beginning with a vowel. In writing words beginning with a vowel, it was their custom to use both the vowel-sign and a syllabic sign beginning with the same vowel; thus *a-aḳ-te-ni = aḳteni, u-un-na-i = unai*. It will be clear from this that even though the script was known it was by means an easy job to determine the phonetic values of particular written forms.

Hittite borrowings from the Akkadians were not confined merely to the syllabic symbols discussed above. Akkadian words were freely used by the Hittites as ideogrammes, and that for some of the commonest words of their language. We do not even know the Hittite word for 'king', for it is always represented ideographically by Sumero-Akkadian LUGAL. For the same reason, the Hittite words for 'god' and 'son' are yet unknown, for the Hittites used in their documents only the Akkadian graphic forms of these words, which they however doubtless read not as the Akkadians themselves would read them, but according to the sound-values of the corresponding Hittite words. But the Akkadians themselves used Sumerian word-symbols ideographically in their language. Thus sometimes we find beside the phonetically-written Hittite word also the corresponding Sumerian and Akkadian forms—as, for instance, Hit. *ḳi-eš-šar*, Sumerian ŠU and Akkadian *QA.TU*, all pronounced *ḳesar* and meaning "hand".* In writing their own language the Akkadians often added Akkadian phonetic endings to Sumerian ideogrammes, and this too was faithfully copied by the Hittites, to whom however not only the Sumerian part but the whole of the word (Sum. ideogramme + Akk. phonetic ending) was an ideogramme. Thus beside the above-mentioned forms ŠU and *QA.TU*, a Sumero-Akkadian mixed form like ŠU.*TU* was

* In the system of transcription now universally accepted, the Sumerian ideogrammes are represented by erect capitals and the Akkadian ones by slanting capitals.

also possible in Hittite writing. The Sumerians employed in their writing also a number of determinatives, usually prefixed, which however were never pronounced, their function being merely to modify the meaning of the word governed by it in a particular way. Thus the sign SAL 'woman' may be prefixed to the designation of a woman's occupation. Along with the Sumerian ideogrammes the Hittites borrowed from the Akkadians also these non-phonetic Sumerian determinatives. Thus the determinative UZU, meaning 'part of the body', may be prefixed to ŠU 'hand'. In transcribed Hittite texts these determinatives are written with raised capital letters, *e.g.*, ^{UZU}ŠU, the whole complex, read as *ḳesar* by Hittites themselves, meaning "the hand which is a part of the body".

This is the system of older Hittite writing which, apart from the Sumero-Akkadian ideogrammes without any phonetic Hittite equivalents, can be read, though in many cases we are far from certain as to how they actually used to be read by the Hittites. For it is not always safe to assume for Hittite the same phonetic value which the syllabic signs enjoyed in the parent Akkadian language. Thus the Akkadian sign for z (sonant dental sibilant) was used by the Hittites to represent the fricative *ts*, and Akkadian *š* in their language assumed the value of *s*. The value of Akkadian *ḫ* in Hittite is still a matter of dispute. The exact timbre of Akkadian vowels in Hittite will perhaps never be determined, and for their quantity too it is anything but certain that they were long in all those cases where they are written double; cf., e.g. *e-eš-zi*=Skt. *as-ti* <I.-E. *es-ti.— Later Hittites, from about 800 B. C., began to use a system of hieroglyphs for writing their language. The clue to this "hieroglyphic Hittite" has not yet been found.

In the field of vocalism Hittite ranges itself definitely on the side of the western Indo-European languages, for unlike Indo-Iranian it retains the vowel *e* distinct from *a*; cf. Hit. *esmi*, Gr. *eimí*, Lith. *esmí*: Skt. *ás-mi*; Hit. *et-* "to

eat" : Skt. *ad* ; Hit. *seszi* : Skt. *sasti* "sleeps" ; Hit. *nepiš*, Lat. *nebu(la)* : Skt. *nábhas*; Hit. *wek-* : Skt. *vaś-* (cf. Gr. *hekṓn*) ; Hit. *eshar*, Gr. *éar* : Skt. *asṛk* ; Hit. *mekis*, Gr. *mégas* : Skt. *mah-* etc. On account of the imperfect system of writing it is not possible to determine whether I.-E. *ē* had retained its length in Hittite ; both the roots **es-* (Skt. *as-*) and **ēs-* (Skt. *ās-*), for instance, are written in the same way in Hittite.—I.-E. *a* remains unchanged in Hittite. Cf. Hit. *apa* : Skt. *apa*, Gr. *apó* ; Hit. *harkis* 'white,' Skt. *arjuna*, Gr. *argós*, etc. As the written forms afford no clue as to the length of the vowels, it is impossible to say whether I.-E. *a* retained its length in Hittite. Its quality at all events remained unchanged. Cf. Hit. *stapi* : Skt. *sthāpayati* ; Hit. *tayezi* 'steals' : Skt. *tayu*, etc.—The third normal vowel e becomes *a* in Hittite, which in this respect may therefore be said to side with Indo-Iranian : Hit. *hastai* : Skt. *asthi* but Gr. *ostéon* ; Hit. *pra*, Skt. *pra*, but Gr. *pró*, etc. I.-E. long ō appears as *a* in Hittite, which *may* be read long, e.g. Hit. *laman* (with dissimilation) 'name' : Lat *nōmen*. Both the extreme vowels *i* and *u* remain unchanged in Hittite. The Skt. primary personal endings *-mi -si -ti* and *-nti* have their exact counterparts in Hit. *-mi*, *-si -zi* and *-nzi*; the Indo-Iranian imperative endings *-tu* and *-ntu* have outside parallels only in Hit. ; cf. further Hit. *yukan* : Skt. *yugam*, Hit. *kenu* : Skt. *jānu*, Hit. *nu* : Skt. *nu*, etc.

In dealing with the descendants of the easily contractible I.-E. diphthongs in the various dialects we have to be doubly cautious. For when comparing a dialectical form with the corresponding basic I.-E. form, it is not at all safe to equate straightway an I.-E. diphthong contained in the latter with whatever may seem to occupy its place in the former, for the two sounds may be of different ablaut-grades. It is assumed, for want of anything better, that if the forms compared are of the same grammatical category, then also the roots contained in them will be of the same ablaut-grade. This is no doubt probable, but still far from

DYNASTIC HISTORY
OF NORTHERN INDIA

CHAPTER XI

CANDRĀTREYAS (CANDELLAS) OF JEJĀ-BHUKTI (BUNDELKHAND)

There is little doubt that the rise of the Candella power in the south of the Jumna was one of the important contributory causes that hastened the downfall of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra empire in Northern India. When however we try to trace the first beginnings and growth of the Candella kingdom we meet with considerable difficulties. Tradition records the following account of their rise.

Hem-rāj, the *purohit* of Indrajit, the Gaharwar rājā of Benares, had a daughter named Hemāvatī. She "was very beautiful, and one day when she went to bathe in the Rāti Tālāb, she was seen and embraced by *Candramā* (the Moon); as he was preparing to return to the skies, Hemāvatī cursed him. 'Why do you curse me?' said Candramā, 'your son will be lord of the earth, and from him will spring a thousand branches.' Hemāvatī enquired: 'How shall my dishonour be effaced when I am without a husband?' 'Fear not,' replied Candramā, 'your son will be born on the bank of the Karṇavatī river; then take him to Khajurāya, and offer him as a gift and perform a sacrifice. In Mahoba (Mahotsavanagara) he will reign, and will become a great king......... ..On the hill of Kālañjara he will build a fort'..."[1] A copy of the *Mahobā-Khaṇḍ* consulted by Cunningham, gave the date of the coronation of this child, who was named Candra-varmā, as *Saṁvat*

[1] *ASR*, Vol. II, pp. 445-46.

225.[1] The traditions preserved by the family of the Qānungo of Mahoba inform us that Candra-varmā overthrew the Parihārs in Bundelkhand.[2] The genealogies preserved in the official charters of the Candella princes, however, are ignorant of the existence of this prince. Thus the Khajraho stone inscription of Dhaṅga (V.S. 1011) gives the following account of the origin of the dynasty[3]:—

Viśvasṛk Purāṇapuruṣa (The creator of the universe, that ancient being).
|
Sages Mārici, Atri, etc.
|
Muni Candrātreya...acquired fierce might by ceaseless austerities
|
From him princes (*bhūbhujām*) who had the power to destroy or protect the whole earth.
|
In this family *Nṛpa* Nannuka
|
Vākpati
|
Jayaśakti — Vijayaśakti
|
Rāhila
|
Harṣa = Kañcukā
|
Yaśovarman
|
Dhaṅga (V.S. 1011 = A.D. 954)

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *JASB*, 1881, Vol. L, p. 3. The date of this event is given as *Saṁvat* 677.

[3] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 122 ff. This is the earliest record of the line, as far known, which supplies any information about the origin of the family. There are slight variations in other records. Thus in the Khajraho stone inscription of Kokkala (V. S. 1058) we have: Atri: From his eye the Moon; His son the sage Candrātreya:—In the family of the *Candrātreya-vaṁśaja* princes, Nannuka; see *ibid*, pp. 137 ff. The copper plates usually begin with the praise of *Candrātreya-narendrāṇāṁ vaṁśa* and then give the name of the grandfather of the donor of the grant; see *IA* XVI, pp. 207 ff. Sometimes the inscription begins with the praise of only the Moon, the progenitor of the *Candrātreya-narendrāṇāṁ vaṁśa*; see *EI*, Vol. XVI, pp. 9 ff. A fragmentary Mahoba inscription, however, begins with the genealogy with "From the beloved of the night there sprang a race beloved by all." The preserved portion does not contain the word Candra or Candrātreya; *ibid*, Vol. I, pp. 217 ff. Generally speaking, the earliest inscriptions refer to the dynasty as *Candrātreya-vaṁśa*. But the Dudahi stone inscriptions of Devalabdhi, a grandson of Yaśovarman, describe the family as *Candrell-ānvaya*, from which no doubt the later form Candella is derived. Kielhorn suspected

It should however be observed that both tradition and inscriptions agree in tracing the descent of the family to the Moon. The fact that the traditional founder of the dynasty is first taken to Khajraho [1] is also consistent with epigraphic and foreign evidence. For the earliest inscriptions of the Candellas come from that place, and the *Kāmil*, one of the oldest compilations of Arab history, connects the dynasty with Kajurāhah (كجراهة).[2] Cunningham discovered another agreement between tradition and epigraphic evidence. By counting backwards from 954 A.D., the earliest known date of Dhaṅga, the 6th lineal descendant of Nannuka, and assigning a period of 20 to 25 years for each generation, he fixed upon the first quarter of the 9th century A.D., as the approximate date of Nannuka.[3] Then by referring *Saṁvat* 225, one of the traditional dates for the foundation of the Candella dynasty, to the Harṣa era, he found it in perfect agreement with the above date (225+606=831 A.D.).[4] There is yet another agreement between tradition and epigraphy if we accept the name Candra-varmā as a mere *biruda* of Nannuka. But the statement that the founder of the dynasty supplanted the Parihārs cannot be accepted. From about the time of Nannuka down to the beginning of the 10th century the Gurjara-Pratīhāras were at the height of their power, and it is unlikely that, during this period, the Candellas would succeed in driving them out of the land lying to the south of the Jumna. It is more

that the name *Candrātreya* was really a later Sanskritised form of the word *Candrella*. According to him this last word was formed from Candra by the addition of the Prakrit suffix *illa*. The form *Caṁdella* occurs in the Deogarh rock-inscription of Kirtivarman. *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 237 ff. The form Candella is found in the Benares grant of the Kalacuri Lakṣmī-Karṇa *EI*, Vol. II, p. 306; while the form *Candela* occurs in the Madanpur inscription of Cāhamāna Pṛthvirāja III, (V.) *Saṁvat* 1239; see *ASR*, Vol. XXI, p. 174. We reserve for discussion the question of the origin of the Candellas in Vol. III of the present work.

[1] Sometimes spelt Khajuraho.

[2] *TKA*, Bulak, 1874, Vol. IX, pp. 115-16.

[3] *ASR*, Vol. II, p. 447.

[4] The other traditional dates for the foundation of the Candella power are 204, 661, and 682. We can of course refer the first of these to the Harṣa era; but the three other dates, 661, 677, and 682 cannot be satisfactorily explained. See *JASB*, Vol. L, pp. 3-6.

likely that the Candella Nannuka was at first a feudatory of Nāgabhaṭa II (*c.* 815-33 A.D.) and ruled over a small principality round about Khajraho, the Kharjjuravāhaka of the inscriptions. This agrees with the tradition which places the original home of the Candellas at Maniyagarh in the Chhatarpur State (C. I.). In the Khajraho inscription of Dhaṅga, Nannuka is called *nṛpa* and is described as 'a touchstone to test the worth of the gold of the regal order, who playfully decorated the faces of the women of the quarters with the sandal of his fame,' and whose enemies carried 'his commands on their heads, like a garland.'[1] In another Khajraho inscription of the same king Nannuka is called a *mahīpati* 'whose prowess reminded the gods of Arjuna.'[2] This is the only information available about the first historical personage in the genealogy of the Candellas. The Indian *praśastikāras* at any rate do not err on the side of moderation and it is extremely impossible that they would have omitted such a tangible historical fact as the defeat of the Parihāras, if that incident really happened in the career of the founder of the dynasty, and attached to his memory such vague generalities which in Indian records mean practically nothing It is also significant that Nannuka's name is omitted from all the other Candella inscriptions, which are not few. He would have certainly loomed as a more substantial figure in the family tradition if he had really laid the foundation of the sovereignty of the family by violently uprooting another dynasty. The evidence available therefore suggests that his position was that of a petty feudatory ruler. It would even be risky to assume that he 'enjoyed some share of sovereign power' from the mere fact that in the inscriptions of his distant descendants he is designated a *mahīpati* or a *nṛpa*. There is also no evidence to prove the alleged connection of the founder of the dynasty and the *purohita* of the Gāhaḍavālas. In fact

[1] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 125, V. 10.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 141, Vs. 14-15.

epigraphic evidence is against the supposition that Nannuka could even be a contemporary of the early Gāhaḍavālas of Benares (11th century A. D.).[1]

The next person in the Candella genealogy is Vākpati, the son of Nannuka. His existence is also known from the two inscriptions referred to above. The first informs us that the illustrious Vākpati defeated his enemies in battle and made the Vindhyas his pleasure-mount (*Krīḍā-giri*).[2] According to the other record, the *Kṣitipa* Vākpati is said to have excelled by his wisdom and valour (even) the mythical kings Pṛthu and Kakustha.[3] From the fact that he is referred to as having made the Vindhyas his pleasure-mount we may perhaps be justified in concluding that Vākpati succeeded in extending to some degree the limits of his small ancestral principality. But in my opinion the persons who really succeeded in establishing the foundation of the prosperity, though not the sovereignty of the family, were his sons Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti.[4] Excepting in the two inscriptions mentioned above, these two brothers are generally described in records as the first ancestors of the Candellas. Verse 10 of a fragmentary inscription at Mahoba again tells us that Jejā (Jayaśakti) gave his name to *Jejā-bhukti*, just as Pṛthu did to *Pṛthivī*.[5] This Jejā-bhukti[6] is generally accepted as the 'old name of Bundelkhand and the original of the vernacular form Jajāhūtī or Jajāhotī, just

[1] See *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 504 ff.

[2] *EI*, p. 125, Vs. 11-12.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 141, Vs. 16-17.

[4] There are variant forms of these two names in the inscriptions. For the former we have: Jejā (*EI*, Vol. I, p. 221, V. 10), and Jejjāka (*EI*, Vol. I, p. 122, line 6); for the latter, we have Vijaya (*EI*, Vol. I, p. 141, V. 18), Vijjā (*EI*, Vol. I, p. 122, line 6) and Vijā (*EI*, Vol. I, p. 221, V. 10).

[5] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 221.

[6] There are variants of this name. A Madanpur stone inscription gives the form *Jejāka-bhukti* (Cunningham, *ASR*, Vol. X, plate XXXII, No. 10, lines 2-3). The same form of the name is found in several other Madanpur records, with the addition of *deśa*, or *maṇḍala*. (See *ibid*, Vol. XXI, p. 174.) The Ratnapur stone inscription of the Kalacuri Jajalladeva, (Cedi) *Saṁvat*, 866, gives the form *Jejābhuktika*; see *EI*, Vol. I, p. 35, V. 21.

'as modern Tirhut is derived from Tīra-bhukti.'[1] Cunningham, who first proposed this identification, further identified this name under its vernacular form with the *Chih-chi-t'o* of Yuan Chwang. But as the date of Jayaśakti cannot be earlier than about the beginning of the 9th century, and as there is nothing to discredit the epigraphic evidence that he gave his name to the *Bhukti*, we must give up this identification.[2] Watters may be right when he suggests that the *Chih-chi-t'o* of Yuan Chwang represents modern *Chitor* and not Jajhoti.[3] From the fact that his dominion is called only a *Bhukti* we may infer that Jayaśakti was at best a mere feudatory perhaps of the great Gurjara emperor Bhoja (*c*. 836-88 A.D.). In the inscriptions he is generally praised vaguely for victories over his enemies. Thus in a Khajraho inscription of Dhaṅga we are told that "by the unmeasured prowess" of him and his younger brother "adversaries were destroyed, as woods are burnt by a blazing fire."[4] But in another Khajraho inscription of the same king, the younger brother Vijaya is said to have, 'like Rāma, on his warlike expeditions reached even the southernmost point of India.'[5] It is not impossible that there may be some historical truth hidden in this reference. But if he really invaded peninsular India he must have done so as the feudatory of some more powerful sovereign. For though the brothers are repeatedly referred to in the inscriptions as having added 'radiance' to the family of the Candrātreya

[1] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 218; *AGI*, 2nd ed., Calcutta, 1924, p. 551. The form *Jejāhūti* with its capital Kajurāha occurs in Birūnī's *Indica*, Trans. by Sachau, Trübner, Vol. I, p. 202. Ibn Batuta visited Kajarrā in A. D. 1335. This city must be the same as the Kajurāhah of Bīrūnī and Ibn ul-Athir. Cunningham in his footnote, on p. 551, gives the name of the city visited by Ibn Batuta in the 'original Persian (a slip for Arabic) characters' as Kajurā. But in the text edited by Defrémery and Sanguinetti (*Voyages d'ibn Batoutah*, Paris 1858, p. 39) it is clearly written as كجورا ; see also *Ibn Batuta*, by Gibb, Routledge, 1229, pp. 226 and 363.

[2] Untenability of this identification of Cunningham was first pointed out to me by Prof. R. C. Majumdar of the University of Dacca.

[3] *YC*, Vol. II, p. 251.

[4] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 126, V. 15.

[5] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 141-42, V. 20.

princes, it is significant that they are seldom given the epithets of sovereign rulers, and are on the contrary often simply called heroes (*vīra*).[1] We may therefore conclude with some probability that Vijayaśakti, who succeeded his elder brother as the head of the family, was still a subordinate chief, possibly of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra Bhoja or his son Mahendrapāla (*c.* 893-907 A.D.). The position of Rāhila, Vijayaśakti's son and successor, does not appear to have been different from that of his father. He is mentioned only in two of the Candella inscriptions so far discovered; and in both of them he is merely praised in conventional phrases for his bravery and victories. Thus in the Khajraho inscription of Dhaṅga, the royal *praśasti-kāra* says: "Thinking of whom (Rāhila) the enemies enjoy little sleep at night. Who never tired, at the sacrifice of battle, where the terribly wielded sword was the ladle, where the oblation of clarified butter was made with streaming blood, where the twanging of the bow-string was the exclamation of *raṣaṭ*, (and) at which exasperated warriors marching in order were the priests, successful with his counsels (as with sacred hymns) sacrificed, like beasts, the adversaries in the fire of enmity, made to blaze up high by the wind of his unappeased anger."[2] In another Khajraho epigraph of the same king Rāhila is given credit for favouring his friends and punishing his enemies.[3] It was not till the reigns of his son Harṣa and his grandson Yaśovarman that circumstances favoured the growth of a strong Candella state. The continuous struggle between the Gurjaras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas which had been raging since the days of Vatsa and Dhruva suddenly took a bad turn for the Gurjara-Pratīhāras sometime between 915-18 A.D.[4] The Rāṣṭrakūṭas under Indra III

[1] *Ibid*, IV, p. 157, line 2; Vol. X, p. 47, line 2; Vol. XVI, p. 12, line 3, and p. 274, line 2.

[2] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 131, V. 17, also p. 126. This idea of comparing battles to sacrifices is probably taken from the *Mahābhārata*; see *Baṅgavāsi* (Calcutta) ed., *Udyogaparva*, Chap. 141, Vs. 20-51; see also JL, Vol. XIV, 1927, *Notes on War in Ancient India*, p. 1 ff.

[3] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 242, Vs. 22-23.

[4] See *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 579 ff.

captured Ujjayinī and overran Northern India. The imperial city of Kanauj itself was completely devastated. There is some evidence to show that the Deccani kings held some portion of the Gaṅgā-Yamunā *Doāb* even as late as 930 A.D. This severe blow and the strangle-hold on the very heart of the imperial power must have greatly weakened the control of the central government on its provinces. It is true that the Pratīhāra emperor was assisted by a number of his feudatories to recover some of his dominions. A fragmentary Candella inscription at Khajraho, for instance, says that either Harṣa or his son Yaśovarman placed Kṣitipāladeva again on the throne[1] (*Punar-yena-śrī-Kṣitipāladeva-nṛpatiḥ siṁhāsane sthā*[*pitaḥ*]). In their official records, also, till the year 954 A.D., in the reign of Dhaṅga, the Candellas actually acknowledged the sovereignty of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras. But there is enough evidence to show that their obedience to the Kanauj power was fast growing nominal. Harṣa, who was possibly reigning when the Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion took place, does not appear to have indulged in any open acts of hostility to the imperial power. In a fragmentary stone inscription discovered at Khajraho, he is said to have "conquered many proud enemies" (*dṛptārinṛmdaḥ*).[2] The Khajraho stone inscription of Dhaṅga dated in V.S. 1011 tells us that "that most excellent of rulers was afraid to offend against the law (*dharma*) and anxious to worship the feet of (Viṣṇu), the enemy of Madhu....(He) married a suitable lady of equal caste (*savarṇā*), named Kañcukā, sprung from the Cāhamāna family."[3] In the Nanyaura plate of the same king, (V.S. 1055) Harṣa is said to have inspired terror by his terrific array of troops, and made tributary to himself other sovereigns.[4] Dhaṅga's Khajraho inscription of (V.)S. 1059 tells us that

[1] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 122, line 10; see also *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 581-88.
[2] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 121, line 7.
[3] *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 126, Vs. 20-21.
[4] *IA*, Vol. XVI, pp. 202-03, lines 2-3.

Harṣa protected the whole earth after subduing his adversaries.[1] These references to Harṣa do not contain any historical facts, but in spite of their vague character they seem to indicate that his was a more substantial figure than any of his predecessors. If Kielhorn was right in his assumption that ' the relative *yena* in line 10 ' of the fragmentary Khajraho inscription mentioned above ' refers to Harṣadeva,' the latter's claim to have reinstalled Kṣitipāla, his overlord, on his throne must indicate a considerable degree of power and prestige.[2] He further strengthened his position by forming a matrimonial alliance with the Cāhamānas, who were also gradually breaking away from the empire. Another matrimonial alliance of Harṣa seems to be revealed by the Benares grant of Lakṣmī-Karṇa, the Kalacuri king of Tripurī. If the *Citrakūṭa-bhūpāla* of this inscription to whom Kokkalla claims to have granted ' freedom from fear ' is identified with the Candella Harṣa, then it looks likely that the Candella princess Naṭṭā (*Naṭṭākhyadevī*), the queen of Kokkalla, was a relative of this Candella prince.[3] Without openly defying his overlord, Harṣa thus appears to have slowly consolidated his position at home and abroad. It was left to his son Yaśovarman, *alias* Lakṣmavarman, to engage in more ambitious projects for increasing the Candella territory by launching into schemes of foreign conquest and aggrandisement. I have already shown[4] that some time before 940 A.D. the Rāṣṭrakūṭas' attacks on the

[1] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 142, Vs. 25-28. This inscription also mentions his wife Kañcūkā, but it does not refer to her lineage; see *ibid*, pp. 142-43, V. 29.

[2] Kielborn suggested that Harṣa at first defeated Kṣitipāladeva and subsequently reinstalled him on his throne. But in view of recent discoveries and the identification of Mahīpāla and Kṣitipāla, it would be better to accept the view that the vanquisher of the Kanauj monarch was the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III and not the Candella chieftain; see *EI*, Vol. I. p. 122.

[3] *EI*, Vol. II, p. 306, V. 7; also p. 301. The acceptance of the suggested identification would show that this *Citrakūṭa* must be differentiated from the hill of the same name in Rajputana and identified with the hill bearing the same name in Bundelkhand. Cunningham identified a hill ' situated on the left, or west, bank of the Paisuni river, about 5 miles to the S.W. of Karwi, and 50 miles to the S.E. of Banda,' with the Citrakūṭa of the *Rāmāyaṇa*; *ASR*, Vol. XXI, pp. 10-13. See also *DHNI*, *infra*, chapter on the Haihayas.

[4] See *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 586 ff.

Gurjara-Pratīhāra empire were renewed. The Jura inscription of Kṛṣṇa III, discovered recently in the Maihar state, shows that his claim to have captured Kālañjara sometime before 940 A.D., from the Gurjaras, may not be entirely baseless. That the Gurjaras referred to in the Karhad and Deoli plates in connection with Kālañjara, were the Gurjara-Pratīhāras of Kanauj is proved by the Barah copper plate of Bhojadeva, which granted land in *Kālañjara-maṇḍala* of the Kanyakubja-*bhukti*.[1] The Khajraho stone inscription of Dhaṅga, dated in 1011 V.S. (A.D. 954) tells us that Yaśovarman easily conquered the mountain of Kālañjara, 'the dwelling-place of Śiva.'[2] As Yaśovarman therefore appears to have been a contemporary of Kṛṣṇa III, it is not unlikely that he may have captured the famous hill-fort, not from the Gurjara-Pratīhāras, as was so long believed, but from the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The sudden emergence of the Candellas as one of the first-class powers in the country south of the Jumna may therefore be due partially to their success against these ruthless marauders of the Deccan, the predecessors of the Marāthā horsemen of a later period. In the Khajraho inscription, referred to above, the poet gives the following graphic, if somewhat exaggerated, account of the victories and campaigns of Yaśovarman :

"Who was a sword to (cut down) the Gauḍas as if they were pleasure-creepers (*krīḍālatā*), equalled the forces (*bala*) of the Khaśas (and)[3] carried off the treasure of the Kośalas, before whom perished the Kāśmīrī warriors (*naśyat-Kāśmīra-vīraḥ*) ; who weakened the Mithilas (*sithilita-Mithilaḥ*), (and) was as it were a god of death to the Mālavas (*Kālavan Mālavānām*), who

[1] *EI*, Vol. IV, p. 284; *JBRAS*, Vol. XVIII, p. 247; *EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 18, line 6.

[2] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 122 ff., V. 31.

[3] The settlement of the Khaśas during this period extended in a wide semicircle from Kaṣṭ^avār in the south-east to the Vitastā valley in the west. The hill states of Rājapurī and Lohara were held by Khaśa families. Stein identified the Khaśas with the 'modern *Khakha* tribe, to which most of the petty hill chiefs and gentry in the Vitastā valley below Kaśmīr belong.' See Stein's Eng. Trans. of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vol. I, pp. 47-48, footnote on I, 317, and Vol. II, p. 430.

brought distress on the shameful Cedis (*Sīdat-sāvadya-Cediḥ*), who was to the Kurus what a storm is to the trees (*Kuru-taruṣu marut*), and a scorching fire to the Gurjaras (*Saṁjvaro Gurjarāṇām*)" (V. 23).

"Free from fear, he impetuously defeated in battle the Cedi king whose forces were countless......" (V. 28).

"At the conquest of the regions, his soldiers gradually managed to ascend the slopes of the snowy mountains, where plentiful flowers had been gathered by Umā from every tree of paradise, where the troops of horses became unmanageable with fright at the gurgling sound of the torrents of the Ganges......" (V. 30).

"He easily conquered the Kālañjara mountain, the dwelling-place of Śiva, which is so high that it impeded the progress of the sun at midday" (V. 31).

"The illustrious Lakṣavarman in his conquests of the regions made, equal to Indra, the daughter of Kalinda (Yamunā) and the offspring of Jahnu (Ganges) one after another his pleasure-lakes, encamping the forces of his army on either banks unmolested by any adversaries (and rendering) their waters muddy with the bathing of his furious mighty elephants" (V. 39).[1]

According to these verses, therefore, Yaśovarman dominated the whole region from the Himalayas to Malwa and from Kashmir to Bengal. As I have already pointed out, much of this is no doubt mere *praśasti*, and poetic exaggeration. Thus the expression *Kośalaḥ Kośalānām* seems rather to convey a desire on the poet's part to show his skill in punning than an historical sense. But there is no inherent impossibility in the assumption, that he really raided a large portion of northern India. His victory over the Cedi king, which is mentioned twice, looks like a genuine fact ; and it is likely that one of the earlier Kalacuri princes of Tripurī, possibly Lakṣmaṇarāja or his predecessor Yuvarāja I, was the *Cedirāja* whose 'countless forces,' were defeated by

[1] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 126-28 and 132-34.

Yaśovarman after a fierce contest. The contemporary Gauḍa king was probably either Rājyapāla or his son Gopāla II. In Kashmir reigned at this period a series of comparatively unimportant princes beginning with Cakravarman (923-37 A.D.), and ending in Parvagupta (949-50 A.D.) while the Khaśa state of Lohara was ruled by one of the predecessors of Siṁharāja (c. 950 A.D.), possibly Candurāja. The territories of the Mālavas, Kośalas, and Kurus appear to have been still under the Gurjara rulers of Kanauj, while Mithilā at this period may have been recovered by the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar.[1] If there is any basis of fact in these claims of successful invasions and victories it is clear that he soon became a standing menace to the imperial house at Kanauj. The expression *Saṁjvaro Gurjarāṇām* suggests that he may have even come into violent conflict with his former overlords. But the Khajraho inscription of Dhaṅga dated in V.S. 1011 shows that though practically independent, the Candellas still retained in their official documents the fiction of their subservience to the Gurjara-Pratīhāras.[2]

The Khajraho inscription referred to above informs us that Yaśovarman erected a 'charming splendid home of (Viṣṇu), the enemy of the Daityas, which rivals the peaks of the mountain of snow.' We are told that the image of Vaikuṇṭha which he set up in this temple was first obtained by 'the lord of Bhoṭa (*Bhoṭanātha*) from the Kailāsa, and from him Sāhi, the king of Kīra received it as a token of friendship ; from him afterwards Herambapāla obtained it for a force of elephants and horses, and (Yaśovarman himself) received it from the *Hayapati* Devapāla,

[1] In the time of Mahendrapāla, the Gurjara-Pratīhāra dominions extended from Śrāvasti in U.P. right up to Paharpur in N. Bengal. See *DHNI*, Vol. I, chapter on the *Dynasties of Bengal and Bihar*, pp. 569-70. The Asiatic Society's plate of Vināyakapāla, which was issued from Mahodaya, and grants land in Vārāṇasī-*Viṣaya*, in the Pratiṣṭhāna-*bhukti*, in V.S. 988, the Rakhetra stone-inscription of the same prince discovered in the Gwalior region dated in V.S. 999-1000, and the Partabgarh stone-inscription of Mahendrapāla (II) dated in V.S. 1003 seem to indicate that the Gurjara-Pratīhāras during the period c. 931-46, held a large portion of the irregular quadrilateral formed by Mandu, Gwalior, Kanauj and Benares.

[2] See DHNI, Vol. I, p. 600

the son of (Herambapāla)[1] The temple mentioned above has been identified by Cunningham with the Vaiṣṇava temple at Khajraho variously known as that of Rāmacandra, Lakṣmaṇa or Caturbhuja.[2] The credit for building this temple, together with that for excavating a big tank (*taḍāgārṇavam*), is given to Yaśovarman by verses 38 and 39 of another Khajraho inscription of Dhaṅga dated in V.S. 1059.[3]

Yaśovarman had a son named Dhaṅga by his queen Puppādevī.[4] The Dudahi stone inscriptions reveal the existence of probably another son of Yaśovarman. These records, six in number, were discovered in a temple of the village of Dudahi in the Lalitpur district of U. P. (Long. 78°27′E., Lat. 24°24′N.). We know from these inscriptions that the temple was erected by the illustrious Devalabdhi belonging to the *Candrellānvaya*, the son of the illustrious Kṛṣṇapa and Āsarvā and the grandson (*naptṛ*) of *Mahārājādhirāja* Yaśovarman.[5] Cunningham's identification of this Yaśovarman with Candella Yaśovarman of Khajraho has been generally accepted by scholars.[6]

Yaśovarman was succeeded by Dhaṅga sometimes before V.S. 1011, the earliest known date of the latter's reign. The inscription which carries this date attempts to give us an idea of the extent of Dhaṅga's dominions. We are told that he "playfully acquired

[1] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 120 and 131, Vs. 42-43. For the identification of Herambapāla and Devapāla, see *DHNI*, Vol. I, chapter on the *Later Gurjara-Pratīhāras*, pp. 571 ff. *Bhoṭa* during this period indicated Tibet while the *Kīras* must be located somewhere near Kashmir. The *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* (XIV. 29) places them with the Kasmiras in the N.E.

[2] *ASR*, Vol. II, pp. 425-27. The temple is 85 ft. 4 inches in length and 44 ft. in breadth. The stone-inscription of Dhaṅga which refers to the building of this temple was originally discovered at the base of the Caturbhuja temple, and is now built into the wall inside its entrance porch. *EI*, Vol. I, p. 144.

[3] *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 144.

[4] *Ibid*, V. 40. Is this name the Prākṛt form of *Puṣpa-devī* ?

[5] First edited by Cunningham with the photo-zincographs of five of them in *ASR*, Vol. X, pp. 94-95, and plate XXXII, Nos. 1, 2 and 4-6. They were then re-edited by Kielhorn in 1889 in the *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 236-237.

[6] The undated fragmentary Khajraho stone-inscription discovered near the temple of Vāmana may belong to Yaśovarman or his father Harṣa. See *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 121-22; *JRAS*, 1904, p. 664, fn. 1.

by the action of his long and strong arms, as far as Kālañjara and as far as Bhāsvat, situated (?) on the banks of the river of Mālava (*Mālava-nadī*); from here also to the bank of the river Kālindī, and from here also to the frontiers of the Cedi country (*deśa*) and even as far as that mountain called Gopa (*Gopābhidhāna-giri*)."[1] As contrasted with the vague claims of victories from Kashmir to Bengal and the Himalayas to Malwa in the case of his father, this comparatively modest specification of the boundaries has the appearance of being based on fact. Though his *praśastikāra* tells us that this wide dominion was acquired by Dhaṅga's strong arms alone, he was no doubt greatly aided by the campaigns of his father. The same inscription which mentions these boundaries of his dominions contains in the last line the following statement:—

"While the illustrious Vināyakapāladeva is protecting the earth, the earth is not taken possession of by the enemies, who have been annihilated."[2] This statement undoubtedly shows that up to 954-55 A. D., the Candellas retained in their public documents a formal, if nominal, recognition of the imperial line at Kanauj. But it is significant that the names of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra rulers do not occur again in any Candella document after this date, indicating that after 954-55 Dhaṅga became a sovereign ruler *de facto* and *de jure*. The expression 'as far as Kālañjara' which occurs in the quotation cited above shows that up to the date of the inscription the capital of the Candellas was situated not in that hill-fort but in some other

1 *EI*, Vol. I, p. 129, V. 45. Kielhorn identified *Mālavanadī* with the river *Vetravatī* or Betwa and Bhāsvat with Bhailasvamin, the mod. Bhilsa. Gopagri is certainly *Gopādri*, identified with mod. Gwalior. Unfortunately no inscriptions of the Candellas have yet been discovered in Gwalior but it is likely that the family of the Kacchapaghāta *Mahārājādhirāja* Vajradāman, for whose reign we have the Gwalior image inscription, dated V.S. 1034 (*JASB*, Vol. XXXI, p. 393), may have been feudatories of the Candellas. The Dubkhund inscription (*EI*, Vol. II, p. 237) dated in V.S. 1145 indicates that the Kacchapaghāta Arjuna was a feudatory of Vidyādhara, the grandson of Dhaṅga.

2 *EI*, Vol. I, p. 135 and p. 129, line 28. On the identification of Vināyakapāla see

city. That this city was Khajraho is probably indicated by an epigraph of Dhaṅga which is dated "in (V.)S. 1059 at Śrī-Kharjjuravāhaka in the realm of Dhaṅga"[1] This is further supported by the *Kāmil* of Ibn ul-Athīr, which refers to Dhaṅga's grandson as ruler of Kajurāha.[2] It is also significant that the earliest inscriptions of the Candellas including those of Dhaṅga, came from Khajraho and not from Kālañjara[3] or Mahoba. It should be noted however that as early as (V.) S. 1055 Dhaṅga is given the epithet *Kālañjarādhipati*.[4] This may indicate that Kālañjara was regarded as a sort of second capital of the kingdom. But it is more probable that the epithet simply indicates the possession of one of the strongest hill-forts of India,[5] which in an age ignorant of artillery, made his position almost impregnable. The strategic importance of this hill was well-known in India at this time, and the Kalacuris, the Gurjara-Pratīhāras, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Candellas tried in succession to retain their hold on its fortifications. The possession of this fortress, as well as that of Gwalior must have consolidated the position of the Candellas in Central India and encouraged them to attempt the systematic conquest of portions of the Ganges valley. Yaśovarman is already said to have encamped his troops on the banks of the Ganges. The Nanyaura plate of Dhaṅga which was issued from Kāśikā (Benares), shows that this was no idle boast, and that in V.S. 1055 the Candellas were certainly on the Ganges.[6] The possession of Prayāga (Allahabad) by Dhaṅga is probably indicated by the fact that he is reported to have 'entered into beatitude' by abandoning his body in the waters of the Jāhnavī,

1 *Ibid*, p. 147, lines 32-33.

2 *TKA*, Bulak, 1874, Vol. IX, pp. 115-116.

3 The inscriptions of Kālañjara (mod. Kalinjar) mostly belong to a later period, the time of Madanavarman (c. 1128-63 A.D.) and Paramardi (c. 1167-1203 A.D.).

4 *IA*, Vol. XVI, p. 203, line 7.

5 Niẓāmud-Din says of this fort that 'it has no equal in the whole country of Hindustan for strength and impregnability;' *TA*, Trans., p. 14. Birūnī also refers to Kālanjar as one of the two 'most famous fortresses of India;' see his *Indica*, trans. by Sachau (Trübner), Vol. I, p. 202.

and the *Kālindī*.[1] It is not unlikely that from these bases Dhaṅga may have penetrated further eastward in the Ganges valley. A Khajraho epigraph tells us that the wives of 'the kings of Kāñcī, Andhra, Rāḍhā, and Aṅga lingered in his prisons.'[2] Another verse of the same inscription says that 'he was so powerful that the rulers of Kośala, Kratha,[3] Siṁhala and Kuntala humbly listened to his commands.'[4] It is therefore possible that he may have even successfully raided some portions of peninsular India. In any case there is enough evidence to show that Dhaṅga had become one of the most powerful rulers of Central India during this period. One of the Candella inscriptions goes so far as to say that he, having defeated on the battlefield the *Kānyakubja-narendra*, obtained exalted sovereignty (or empire, *Sāmrājya*).[5] If true, this statement shows that the hegemony which the rulers of Kanauj so long enjoyed in Northern India was at last taken away from them by the Candellas during the reign of Dhaṅga. But as 'Utbī in 409 A.H. (1018 A.D.) describes the Kanauj ruler Rājyapāla as 'the chief of all princes of India,'[6] we must conclude that the halo of imperialism still lingered over the brow of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras for at least sometime after Dhaṅga's death. The accepted interpretation of another statement about Dhaṅga also appears to me to be doubtful. A fragmentary Candella inscription discovered at Mahoba thus describes his achievements: "......Dhaṅga, who caused the destruction of his enemies, and who by the strength of his arms equalled even the powerful Haṁvīra, who had proved a heavy burden for the

1 *EI*, Vol. I, p. 139, and p. 146, V. 55.

2 *EI*, Vol. I, p. 145, V. 46.

3 *Kratha* was a country in the peninsular portion of India, possibly near modern Berar. In the *Mahābhārata* (Bomb. Ed., II, Chap. 14, V. 21). *Kratha-Kauśikān* are mentioned in connection with the *Bhojas* and *Pāṇḍyas*. Some identify *Kratha-Kauśika* with Vidarbha. See *GDI*, p. 104.

4 *EI*, Vol. I, p. 145, V. 45.

5 *Ibid*, p. 197, V. 8; also foot-note 62 on p. 208.

6 *KY*. Trans. from the Persian version by Reynolds, p. 456. *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 608.

earth......"[1] The word *Haṁvīra* is apparently a corruption of the Arabic word Amīr (امير, Commander, leader), derived from the root Amr (امر, command). The word *Amīr* in this sense is found in Islamic history in the title *Amīr ul-mu'minīn, i.e.,* 'lord of the faithful' which became a regular title of the Caliphs since the days of 'Umar.[2] The term gradually came to be applied to kings, and later on to any high official of the state. The coins of the Yamīnīs of Ghazni show that they were known by the title of *Amīr.*[3] Stein has shown that the *Hammīra* of Kalhana, who was a contemporary of Śāhi Trilocanapāla and the Kashmirian king Saṁgrāmarāja (1003-28 A.D.) must be identified with Mahmud of Ghazni. Thus Hammīra appears to be another Indian corruption of the Arabic word *Amīr.*[4] That this is the correct interpretation is proved by the Sanskrit legend on the reverse of some of the gold coins of Muhammad ibn Sām, which runs as follows:—*Śrīmad Hamīra Mahamad Sām.*[5] From this time onwards up to the reign of Balban the epithet *Śrī-Hamīra* (*Srī-Hamīra* or *Śri-Hammira*) occurs as the regular designation of the Ghūrī and Delhi Sulṭāns in their coins and inscriptions.[6] The epithet also occurs on the coins of some of their provincial satraps.[7] There is no doubt therefore that *Hammīra Hamīra*, or *Haṁvīra* was to the Indians the accepted title for a Muhammadan prince at least during the period *c.* 1000-1300 A.D. But this word may have even a longer history. It is not unlikely that it came to acquire this meaning from the middle of the 9th century A.D., when the Arab chiefs of

[1] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 218 and 221, V. 17.

[2] *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. I, pp. 330 and 334.

[3] S. Lane-Poole, *Mohammadan Coins*, Oxford, 1888, p. 18.

[4] *Rājataraṅginī*, VII, 53, 64, Stein's note on VII, 47-69 on pp. 270-71 in Vol. I, of his Trans. See also *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 95 ff., 185.

[5] Wright, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, Vol. II, Oxford, 1907, p. 17. Thomas, *The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings in Delhi*, p. 20, No. 18.

[6] Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-33; Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-127; also fn. 1, on pp. 50-51. *JASB*, Vol. XLIII, Part I, p. 108, plate X.

[7] Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 31 and 100-03.

Sind became practically independent and assumed the title of *Amīr*.[1]

To return to our discussion of the epithet, "equalled even the powerful *Hamvīra*." The known dates of Dhaṅga (V.S. 1011-1059, *c*. 954-1002 A.D.) show that he was a contemporary of the Yamīnī Sulṭāns Sabuk-tigīn (A.D. 976-97), Ismā'īl (A.D. 997) and Maḥmūd (A.D. 998-1030). It has been usually assumed by scholars that the *Hamvīra* referred to above must be identified with Sabuk-tigīn. They further assume that the Kalinjar ruler who according to Firishta 'supplied troops and money' to the Śāhi ruler Jayapāla must have been the Candella ruler Dhaṅga.[2] I have elsewhere tried to show that there are reasons to suspect the veracity of Firishta on this point.[3] The silence of 'Utbī, Ibn ul-Athīr, and Niẓām ud-Dīn appears to me to be rather significant. I have already pointed out that the last known date of Dhaṅga is V. S. 1059, and the earliest known date of his successors is 410 A.H.,[4] so his death must have occurred sometime between *c*. 1002 and 1019 A.D.[5] As he lived for more

[1] See *DHNI*, Vol. I, chapter on Dynasties of Sind, pp. 91, fn. 8; *Elliot*, Vol. I, p. 86.

[2] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 218-19; *IA*, 1908, p. 140, *JRAS*, 1909, pp. 276; CHI, Vol. III, p. 507.

[3] See *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 83, 91-92, 597, etc.

[4] The date of his grandson Vidyādhara; see *infra*, pp. 688 ff.

[5] Kielhorn while editing the Khajraho inscription of Dhaṅga dated in V. S. 1059, renewed by Jayavarmadeva in V. S. 1178 remarked: "The date shows that Dhaṅga died between the Vikrama years 1055, the date of the Bengal Asiatic Society's copper-plate grant mentioned above (*IA*, Vol. XVI, pp. 202-04) and 1059." (*EI*, Vol. I, p. 139.) This has been accepted by other scholars, see *IA*, 1908, p. 141. But the inscription in question records in lines 32-3, V. 63: *Samvat 1059 Śrī-Kharjūravāhake Dhaṅga-deva-rājye deva-Śrī-Marakateśvarasya praśasti siddhā*. This clearly shows that Dhaṅga was alive in V.S. 1059. The fact that in line 29, V. 55 refers to the death of Dhaṅga only proves that the record in question was re-arranged and re-written when it was renewed after more than a hundred years by Jayavarmadeva in V. S. 1173. It is of course strange that the record 'should contain no allusions whatever to the successor of Dhaṅgadeva.' But this unusual character of the inscription remains unexplained even if we accept the theory of Kielhorn. To me it therefore seems that the epigraph does not give us any facts to fix the date of the death of Dhaṅga 'within very narrow limits of possible error.' It is clear that he did [illegible] before 1002 A.D.' We only know that he died some time after A.D. 1002.

than a 'hundred autumns' (*Śaradāṁ śataṁ*)[1] it is not unlikely that he may have lived up to 1008 A.D., which date practically saw the downfall of the Śāhis. The defeat of Ānandapāla threw open the Ganges-Jumna valley to the inroads of the Yamīnī Amīrs. The shadow of the *Haṁvīra* fell beyond the waters of the Sutlej. The achievements of Maḥmūd only served to heighten the prestige of his arms. Under the circumstances, to compare Dhaṅga's prowess to that of the terrible *Haṁvīra* may have appeared to a late *praśastikāra*, writing at least a hundred years after that prince's death,[2] to be deserving of the highest reward. If Dhaṅga really fought and was defeated by the *Haṁvīra*, we should expect a discreet silence from the poets living at the court of his successors.

The above discussion shows that Dhaṅga's reign was a long and distinguished one, probably unmarred by defeats at the hands of the Turuṣkas. The temples of Khajraho, which are regarded as 'the finest group of Hindu temples in Northern India,' and are usually referred to the 10th and 11th centuries, bear evidence to the splendour of the victories of the Candellas in the domain of peace.[3] Some of these edifices certainly belong to the reign of Dhaṅga. The temple of Jinanātha, which contains an inscription of Dhaṅga's reign of the year 1011 recording a number of gifts by a Jain devotee, was probably built during that ruler's reign. The temple of Vaidyanātha, which contains an inscription of the year 1058 recording the building of a temple in honour of Vaidyanātha by one Kokkala of the *Gahapati* family, also appears to have been built during this reign.[4] Another Khajraho inscription records the building of 'a magnificent temple for the god Śambhu, *Marakateśvara*, with two *lingas*

[1] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 146, V. 55.

[2] The Mahoba epigraph which contains this passage is unfortunately fragmentary. But in V. 28 it seems to refer to the son of Kīrtivarman (V. S. 1154). *EI*, Vol. I, p. 221.

[3] Cunningham, *ASR*, Vol. II, pp. 419 ff.; Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 1910, Vol. II, pp. 40 ff., 140 ff.; *IA*, 1908, p. 63.

[4] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 147 ff.

one of emerald and the other of stone. This inscription is dated in the year 1059, and is now built into a wall of the temple of Visvanātha.[1]

The Mau stone inscription of the time of Madanavarman supplies us with the name of one of his ministers, named Prabhāsa, who was born in the lineage of Aṅgiras and Gautama Akṣapāda, the reputed founder of the *Nyāya* philosophy. He was, we are told, 'highly expert in the abstruse conduct of politics (*naya-prayoge gahane sudakṣaḥ*). After being '(duly) tried ' (*sarv-opadhāśuddhi*) was appointed 'chief of all ministers' by Dhaṅga and king Gaṇḍa.[2]

Dhaṅga after living for more than a hundred years at last "abandoned the body in the waters of the Ganges and the Yamunā, and entered into beatitude, closing the eyes, fixing his thoughts on Rudra, and muttering holy prayers." The following records and dates are known for his reign :[3]

(1) *Khajraho stone-inscription.*—The stone which bears this inscription is said to have been discovered in the ruins at the base of the Lakṣmaṇa-temple at Khajraho. It consists of 28 lines and contains 49 verses in fluent and correct Sanskrit. It opens with 'adoration to the holy Vāsudeva' and then invokes the god Vaikuṇṭha. Next follows the account of the rise of the Candrātreyas from the Sage Atri. The genealogy is traced from Nannuka to Dhaṅga The inscription is mainly concerned with the *praśasti* of Yaśovarman, who constructed a splendid home of Viṣṇu and set up in it an image of Vaikuṇṭha, which he received from the *Hayapati* Devapāla (Vs. 23-43). The last 6 verses give an account of Dhaṅga ; and then comes

[1] *Ibid*, pp. 187 ff.

[2] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 199, V. 21.

[3] *Rakṣitvā kṣitim ambur āśirasanām etām ananyāyatim,*
Jīvitvā śaradām śatam samadhikam Śrī-Dhaṅga-pṛthvīpatiḥ.
Rudram mudritalocanaḥ sa hṛdaye dhyāyañjapañjāhnavī.
Kālindyoḥ salile kalevara-parityāgād agānnirvṛtim. (*EI*, Vol. I, p. 146, V. 55.)
Such acts of suicide are not unknown in Indian History; see *BG.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 442 ; *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 347.

the date (V.) S. 1011 (A. D. 953-54) and the name of Vināyakapāla 'protecting the earth.' It ends with 'adoration to the holy Vāsudeva! adoration to the sun.' The inscription was composed by the *Kavi* Mādhava and written by 'the *Karaṇika Gauḍa* Jaddha who was *Saṁskṛta-bhāṣāvidvas*.'[1]

(2) *Khajraho Jain Temple inscription.*—It is carved on the left door-jamb of the temple of Jinanātha at Khajraho. It consists of 11 lines of Sanskrit, partly in prose and partly in verse. The inscription begins with '*oṁ*' and then gives the date (V.) S. 1011 (A. D. 1055). It next records 'a number of gifts made (probably in favour of the temple where the inscription is) by one Pāhilla,' who was 'held in honour by Dhā(a?)ṁga-rāja' and was a devotee of the 'lord of the Jinas.' The gifts mainly consist of gardens (*vāṭikā*). Line 10 mentions the name of *Mahārāja-guru* Vāsavacandra.[2]

(3) *Nanyaura* (now *Bengal Asiatic Society*) *grant.*—It contains 15 lines incised on one side of a single copper plate, and was found with another plate of Devavarman (dated in V. S. 1107) in a field at the village of Nanyaura, in the Panwari-Jaitpur Tahsīl of the Hamirpur District, U. P. There are no holes in the plate for rings, nor any seal attached to the plate. The grant opens with the sign *Oṁ svasti* and then traces the genealogy of the donor from king Harṣadeva. We are told that *Pb.-M.-P.* Harṣadeva-*pādānudhyāta-Pb.-M.-P.* *Yaśovarmana-deva-pādānudhyāta-Pb.-M.-P.-Kālañjarādhipati*-Dhaṅga-deva in the (V.) year 1055 (A. D. 998), when there was an eclipse of the moon, granted from Kāśikā (Benares) the village of Yu(Cu?)llī attached to (*pratibaddha*) *Uṣaravāha* to the

[1] The inscription was first noticed by Cunningham in *ASR* (Vol. II, p. 426; Vol. XXI, p. 65), and a very small photolithograph of it was published, *ibid*, Vol. XXI, plate XVII. It was edited by Kielhorn in *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 123-135. The stone bearing this record is now built into the wall inside the entrance-porch of the temple of Lakṣmaṇa.

[2] The inscription was noticed by Cunningham in *ASR*, Vol. II, p. 433, and XXI, p. 67. He also published a photolithograph of it, Vol. XXI, plate XVI, No. J. It was first edited by B. L. Mitra in the *JASB*, Vol. XXXII, p. 279; re-edited by Kielhorn in *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 135-36.

Bhaṭṭa Yaśodhara, an emigrant from Tarkārikā, whose ancestors had been settled at Dūrvāharā. The inscription ends with '*Śrī* Dhaṅga.' [1]

(4) *Khajraho stone inscription of Kokkala.*—The slab which bears this inscription is said to have been found at the temple of Vaidyanātha at Khajraho. The record contains 22 lines. It is a *praśasti* of a *Grahapati* family which originally came from Padmāvatī (mod. Narwar, Gwalior State). The inscription opens with '*Oṁ namaḥ Śivāya,*' and then invokes Śiva in several verses under the names Vaidyanātha, Śaṅkara, and Sarva. Then the genealogy of Kokkala is traced from Yaśobala or Atiyaśobala, of Padmāvatī. In lines 19-21 is recorded the erection of a temple of Vaidyanātha and a number of buildings for pious Brāhmans by Kokkala at Khajraho. The date (V.) *Saṁvat* 1008 (A. D. 1000-01) is given in the last line.[2]

(5) *Khajraho stone inscription.*—It was discovered in a temple at Khajraho. It consists of 33 lines. The record opens with *Oṁ namaḥ Śivāya,* and then praises Śiva (Rudra, Digambara, Śūladhara, Maheśvara), Bhāratī, and Gaṇeśa. Next follows the usual story of the origin of the Candrātreyas. Then comes the regular genealogy of the family from Nannuka to Dhaṅga. In lines 48-51 we are told that the latter erected a magnificent temple for the god Śambhu. "He also distributed great quantities of gold and established in connection with the temple dwellings for pious Brāhmans to whom donations were made of land, grain, money, and cows." (Vs. 52-54.) The record was composed when the illustrious priest of the royal household Yaśodhara was acting in the office of *Dharmādhikāra.*[3]

[1] The plate was first edited by V. A. Smith in the *JASB*, Vol. XLVII, Part I, p. 84, and was re-edited by Kielhorn in *IA*, Vol. XVI, pp. 201-04. It is now in the Bengal Asiatic Society.

[2] Noticed by Cunningham in his *ASR*; see Vol. XXI, p. 66, and plate XIX. Edited by Kielhorn in *EI*, Vol. 1, pp. 147-52. It is now built into the wall of the entrance of the porch of the temple of Visvanātha.

[3] This Yaśodhara is most probably to be identified with the donee of the Nanyaura plate, *op. cit.*, No. 3.

Lines 32-33 give the date as follows: "The (V.) year 1059 (A. D. 1001-02); at the glorious Kharjuravāhaka, in the *rājya* of the illustrious king Dhaṅga, this *praśasti* of the god *Marakateśvara* was completed." The record was composed by the poet Rāma, grandson of the *kavi* Nandana of the *Sāvara* (Śābara)-*vaṁśa* and a resident of Tarkārikā. It was written by the *Kāyastha* Yaśaḥpāla, and engraved by Siṁha. The temple was built by the *Sūtradhāra* Chicca.[1]

Dhaṅga was succeeded by his son Gaṇḍa sometime between 1001-02 A. D., Dhaṅga's last known date, and 1019 A. D., the first recorded date of his grandson Vidyādhara. So far we have not discovered any inscription of this prince. His name is only mentioned in some late records of the Candellas which were composed at least a hundred years after his death. The following statements regarding his reign can be collected from these epigraphs.

A fragmentary Candella inscription which appears to have been composed after the reign of Kīrtivarman (V. S. 1154) refers to Gaṇḍa as 'an unrivalled hero who bore all the parts of the earth on his arms.'[2] The Mau inscriptions of Madanavaraman (V. S. 1186-1220) tells us that Gaṇḍadeva was 'a ruler of the earth in the four quarters, expert in annihilating enemies whose massive arms were terrible through the itching of pride.'[3] A rock inscription of the time of Bhojavarman (V. S. 1345) mentions the name of the *Ṭhakkura* Jājūka of the *Vāstavya Kāyastha-Vaṁśa* to whom was granted by Gaṇḍa, 'the invincible in battle,' the

[1] The inscription was first most carelessly edited by Sutherland in *JASB*, Vol. III, pp. 159-84. It was re-edited by Kielhorn in the *NKGWG*, 1886, pp. 441-62; finally edited by the same scholar, *EI*, Vol. 1, pp. 137-47. The inscription was probably re-arranged and re-written in V. S. 1173, when it was renewed by Jayavarman. This explains the occurrence of the description of Dhaṅga's death in V. 55, while the date of his record is given in V. 62. The inscription is now built into the wall on the right side of the temple of Viśvanātha.

[2] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 219, 221, and 222, V. 19.

[3] *Ibid*, pp. 197 and 203, V. 4.

village of Dugauda, and who was appointed 'to superintend at all times all the affairs (of the state).'[1]

The above will show that, apart from the name of this officer of his time, the Candella records contain nothing but vague generalities about the administration of Gaṇḍa. This agrees with the fact pointed out elsewhere[2] that he is, perhaps, not to be identified with the powerful Indian prince Nandā whose 'immense army,' according to certain Muḥammadan chroniclers, inspired fear even in the mind of Maḥmūd, the Yamīnī king of Ghazni.[3] I have tried to prove that Nandā نندا is a mistake not for Gaṇḍa (کنده - کند or کنداه - کندا) but for Bīdā (بيدا) which is approximately the Arabic phonetic equivalent of *Vidyā*, the first part of the name of Vidyādhara, the son of Gaṇḍa.

It is not known when Gaṇḍa's reign came to an end but he must have been succeeded by his son Vidyādhara some time before 1019 A. D. For Ibn ul-Athīr tells us that in the year A. H. 409 (a mistake for A. H. 410) Maḥmūd of Ghazni marched against India to protect his territories from a threatened attack by Bīdā. This king, we are told, 'was the greatest of the rulers of India in territory; he had the largest armies; and his country was named Kajuraho' كجوراهه. We are further told that some time before this date Bīdā, after a 'long quarrel,' had fought and killed 'Rājaypāl,' the ruler of Kanauj for 'his flight and the surrendering of his territories to the Musalmans.'[4] The

1 *Ibid*, pp. 333 and 336, Vs. 5-7.

2 *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 606.

3 See Dey's Trans. of the *TA* (*Bibliotheca Indica*), p. 12; also *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 691.

4 *TKA*, Bulak, 1874, Vol. IX, pp. 115-16; see also edition by Tornberg published in 1863, Vol. IX, p. 218. This edition also gives the name as بيدا. But the editor notices a variant in some MSS. as Bandā بندا which may have been mistaken in the earlier Persian chronicles as Nandā. The published edition of *KZA* (ed. by Muhammad Nazim, Berlin, 1928, p. 76) gives the name as نندا. This was perhaps the original source of Niẓām ud-Dīn. The stages of corruption were probably therefore: (1) بيدا (2) بندا (3) نندا. On enquiry I find that even now in many parts of Bundelkhand the popular way of pronouncing *yā* sounds after dentals is simply by an *ā*. Thus they would pronounce *pratyākhyāna* as *patākhān*, and not *patiakhian*, as is done in many parts of U. P. That

truth of the last statement of Ibn ul-Athīr is demonstrated by the Dubkund inscription of the Kacchapaghāta Vikramasiṁha (V.S. 1145), which tells us that one of his predecessors named Arjuna, being anxious to serve the illustrious Vidyādhara, had fiercely slain in a great battle the illustrious Rājyapāla.[1] The statement is also supported by a Candella inscription from Mahoba which informs us that Vidyādhara "caused the destruction of the king of Kanauj."[2] These facts show that by the year 1019 A.D., Vidyādhara had come to be regarded as the most powerful ruler of India. The policy of Dhaṅga, who ceased to pay even a nominal homage to the throne of Kanauj, was thus successfully carried to its logical conclusion by his grandson when the latter forcibly uprooted the effete successor of Bhoja and Mahendrapāla.

It is difficult to trace the actual limits of Vidyādhara's dominions. The Dubkund inscription certainly indicates that the Kacchapaghāta rulers of that place were his vassals,[3] and his power probably extended in the west along the east bank of the river Chambal. Another Candella inscription tells us that 'Bhojadeva, together with *Kalacuri-candra* worshipped' (Vidyādhara) 'this master of warfare full of fear, like a pupil.'[4] Bhojadeva of this passage has been rightly identified with the Paramāra ruler of Dhārā of that name. It is also likely the prince referred to as *Kalacuri-candra* is to be identified with

the Muslims followed the popular pronunciation of names and not the Sanskritic pronunciation of the Pandits is shown by the fact that Birūnī gives the name of the capital of Gangeya as *Tiaurī*, the predecessor of the modern *Tewar*, and not *Tripuri*. See *KH*, Trans. by Sachau, Vol. I, p. 202.

[1] *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 237, lines 10, etc.

[2] *Ibid*, Vol. I, pp. 219 and 222, V. 22.

[3] That the ruler of Gwalior was also a vassal of the Candellas is probably shown by the fact that Niẓām ud-Dīn when describing the invasion of *Nandā's* territory by Maḥmūd in 413 A. H., says: He invaded the kingdom of *Nandā*, and when he reached the fort of Gwalior he laid siege to it. At the end of four days the Commandant (or governor; حاکم) of the fort sent envoys....................... See *TA*, Trans, p. 14. Text (*Bibliotheca Indica*), p. 15; *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 692 and fn. 2 on that page.

[4] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 219 and 222, V. 22.

the Cedi ruler Kokalla II.[1] If these identifications are accepted it seems likely that the weight of Vidyādhara's arms was felt in the S. W. and the S. E. as far as the sources of the Chambal and the Narbada. In the north after the defeat and the death of Rājyapāla his authority possibly extended over the Ganges-Jumna *Doāb*. There was therefore not much exaggeration in the account of Ibn ul-Athīr when he described Vidyādhara as the most powerful Indian prince of the time. We can also believe Niẓām ud-Dīn when he tells us that he mustered an army 'consisting of 36,000 horsemen, 145,000 foot soldiers and 390 elephants to oppose the advance of Maḥmūd in 410 A. H.[2] We have elsewhere discussed the reasons that led Maḥmūd to invade India on this occasion.[3] We have seen how 'Parū-Jaypāl,' after unsuccessfully trying to resist Maḥmūd's advance on the Rāhib, started to meet Bīdā. Before however he could effect any junction with the Candella ruler he was surprised and killed by some Indians.[4] After this incident Maḥmūd plundered Bārī, and 'started in pursuit af Bīdā.' According to Ibn ul-Athīr Maḥmūd overtook him on the bank of a river, and after having diverted the stream into new channels came into touch with the Indian camp. The same author gives the following account of the battle that followed: "Yamīn ud-Daulah sent a party of his infantry to fight him, and Bīdā also sent out against him a similar number, and both the armies continued reinforcing their soldiers till the two opposing forces increased in numbers and the battle became vehement. At last the night overtook them and parted them."[5] Niẓām ud-Dīn supplies

[1] *Ibid*, p. 219.

[2] *TA* (*Bibliotheca Indica*), Trans., p. 12. Ibn ul-Athīr gives the number of the army as 56,000 cavalry, 184,000 (?) infantry and 746 elephants; see *TKA*, p. 216. The *KZA* (p. 76) gives the figures as 36,000 cavalry, 145,000 (40,1000,5 ?) infantry and 640 elephants Firishta gives the number as 36,000 cavalry, 45,000 infantry, and 640 elephants; Brigg's Trans., Vol. I, p. 64. As Firishta generally closely follows Niẓām ud-Dīn, 45,000 may be a mistake for 145,000.

[3] See *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 606 ff.

[4] *TKA*, p. 216.

[5] *Ibid.*

a somewhat different account of these incidents. He says: "When the Sultan encamped in front of *Nandā's* army, he first sent an envoy to him and invited him to submit, and to accept Islam. *Nandā* refused to place his neck under the yoke of subjection. After that the Sultan went to an elevated spot, so that he might look at, and make an estimate of, the strength of *Nandā's* army. Then when he saw what a vast host it was, he repented of his coming; and placing the forehead of supplication on the ground of submission and humility, prayed for victory and conquest from the giver of all mercies." [1]

Both the accounts bear evidence to the military power of the Candella ruler, on whom had now fallen the task of resisting the encroachments of Islam in the Ganges-Jumna valley. According to Niẓām ud-Dīn there was no fight between the two armies. *Nandā*, as he lay encamped is said to have become alarmed, and fled at night 'with a few special companions, leaving the army, and all the munitions of war behind.' I am rather disposed to place more credence on the earlier account of the *Kāmil*, and believe that there was a fierce though indecisive battle between the armies before the Candella beat a strategic retreat under cover of the night.[2] This version to me seems to be more consistent with the Muslim account of Bīdā's power and prestige. According to Ibn ul-Athīr, when Maḥmūd found 'the land deserted,' each party of the Hindu army 'having gone a different way,' he plundered the Candella camp and went in pursuit of the Hindu army. He is said to have overtaken them 'in forests and thickets,' and slain and captured a large number; but 'Bīdā escaped single-handed and Yamīn ud-Daulah returned victorious to Ghazna.' An instance of the exaggerations of later historians is afforded by Niẓām ud-Dīn's account of the spoils that fell into the hands of

[1] *TA*, Trans., p. 13. A similar account is also found in *KZA*, p. 76.

[2] On account of the diversion of the stream, the strategic importance of the field chosen by Vidyādhara to resist Maḥmūd must have considerably diminished.

Maḥmūd after this victory. According to the *Kāmil* Maḥmūd found 'treasures and weapons,' in the Hindu camp. According to the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* 'immense quantities of booty,' including 580 elephants, 'fell into the hands of the army of Islām.'

According to Niẓām ud-Dīn and Firishta, Maḥmūd again invaded *Nandā's* territory in the year 413 A. H. (1022 A. D.).[1] The campaign in 410 A.H. did not bear any decisive results and Maḥmūd apparently wanted to force a conclusion. We are told that the Ghazni ruler advanced into the territory of *Nandā* and besieged the fortress of Gwalior. At the end of four days the commandant (حاكم) of the fort submitted and paid a tribute of 35 elephants.[2] The Sultan is then said to have invested the fort of Kālañjara, "which has no equal in the whole country of Hindustan for strength and impregnability." The siege lasted for a *considerable time*, when *Nandā*, the ruler of the fort offered 300 elephants as a tribute and begged for safety. When these elephants were let loose from inside the fort, without any drivers, the Sultan ordered that the Turks should catch hold of them and mount them. The troops in the fort were astonished at this spectacle, and felt much awe for the prowess of the Turks. *Nandā* then sent some verses which he had composed in the Hindu tongue (زبان هندی),[3] in praise of the Sultan. The latter showed them to the eloquent men of Hindustan and other poets[4] who were in attendance on him.

[1] Brigg's Trans. of the *TF*, Vol. I, p. 66, gives the date as A.H. 414 but the Lucknow Text (Vol. I, p. 31) gives the date as 413 A.H.; so it is likely that there is a mistake in the translation.

[2] The title حاكم which usually means a Commandant or a Governor, shows that the Gwalior ruler was a feudatory of the Candellas. The *KFA* (p. 79) gives *Sālār* (سالار ; commandant). Firishta who is later in time, has راجه which is more ambiguous.

[3] *KZA* (p. 80) has *Lughat-i-Hindūī*. (لغت هندوی).

[4] Firishta has 'learned men of India, Arabia, and Persia :' Brigg's Trans., Vol. I, p. 67. This is perhaps the earliest reference to *Hindi* poetry. As Muslim writers like Bīrūnī or Amīr Khusrau refer to Sanskrit as Sanskrit, it is not likely that Hindi is here an adjective of the word Hind (India) meaning Sanskrit, the language *par excellence* of *Hind*. Another fact which makes it probable that *Hindi* here means *Hindustānī* is the date of the earliest of the Hindi poets so far known, *viz.*, Mas'ūd ibn Sa'd, who lived in

They all praised them. The Sultan sent his congratulations, and a mandate conferring the command of 15 fortresses and other presents in return for them. *Nandā* also sent much treasure and precious gems for the acceptance of the Sultān. From that place the Sultān returned (to Ghazna) with victory and triumph."[1]

It is clear from the account of these Musalman writers that Maḥmūd could not repeat the success which he obtained against the effete Gurjara-Pratīhāra rulers when he captured the 7 forts of Kanauj in a single day. Even after 'a considerable time,' he evidently could not capture the fort of Kālañjara, and the campaign ended in mutual gifts and compliments which appear to have been euphemistically represented by his historians as 'tribute.'[2] The friendly relations thus established between Maḥmūd and the Candellas may have continued till at least 1029 A. D., when the former seized one of Seljuq's sons and is reported to have sent him as a prisoner to the fort of 'Kalanjar' in India.[3]

the court of Ibrāhīm, the grandson of Maḥmūd, and died *c.* 515 or 525 A.H. (1121 or 1130 A.D.). Mas'ūd's family were immigrants from Hamdan in Persia and his *Diwans* of Arabic, Persian, and Hindi verses are referred to by Amir Khusrau. It is thus clear that at the beginning of the 12th century Hindi as a literature was so well known that even foreigners composed verses in it. It is not unlikely that a 100 years before this the beginnings of Hindi may be traced to the courts of the Indian princes, who had to carry on intercourse with the Muslim rulers on the frontier. I am indebted for the name and date of Mas'ūd to Dr. M. W. Mirza of Lucknow University.

[1] *TA*, Trans., p. 14. *KZA*, pp. 79-80. This authority mentions in addition the payment of *Jizya* by *Nandā* as one of the conditions of peace. *TF*, Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, pp. 66-67. Ibn ul-Athir does not mention any Indian invasions under the year 413 A.H. But under A.H. 414 he refers to Maḥmūd's conquest of a strong Indian fort situated on the top of a high mountain containing sufficient water and provisions and 500 elephants. I am disposed to identify this fort with *Kālañjara*. But in that case we shall have to correct the *Kāmil's* date by one year ; see Vol. IX, p. 124.

[2] It would certainly be an exaggeration to represent him as a 'coward,' who 'capitulated without fighting.' *IA*, 1908, p. 142. In using these later historians one has always to guard against a tendency to exaggerate Maḥmūd's achievements.

[3] Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, 1915, p. 170; *Rāhat uṣ-Ṣudūr*. Ed. by Muhammad Iqbal, 1921, p. 103. But it seems more likely that this *Kalanjar* is to be identified with the *Kaliñjara* or Kāliñjara of Kalhaṇa and *Kalanjur* of Firishta, situated on the frontiers of Kashmir. See *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 153, fn. 2.

The Mau stone inscription of the time of Madanavarman gives us the name of an officer of Vidyādhara's court, the "virtuous Śivanāga" son of Prabhāsa, the chief *Mantri* of Dhaṅga and Gaṇḍa. We are told that Śivanāga 'as soon as he had assumed the post of minister (*Saciva-pada*), alone, by his excellent conduct made the government of the king Vidyādhara one to which all the rulers of the earth were rendered for ever tributary, so that it surpassed all others on earth.'[1]

Vidyādhara was succeeded sometime after A. H. 413 (A. D. 1022) and before V. S. 1107 the first known date of his grandson Devavarman, by his son Vijayapāla. The latter's name and position in the dynastic table are known from a number of Candella inscriptions.[2] But these documents supply practically no information about the political incidents of his reign. One epigraph tells us that he was a *nṛpendra*, while another praises his virtuous conduct and bravery and tells us that his reign 'put an end to the *Kali* age.' The only piece of information of any importance is the name of his minister (*Saciva*) Mahīpāla, supplied by the Mau stone inscription of Madanavarman.[3] We are told that Mahīpāla sustained 'to its full extent, the weighty burden of the important affairs of the king Vijayapāla' and, uniting valour with blameless policy 'became the standard of comparison among good ministers.'

Vijayapāla was succeeded sometime before V. S. 1107 by Devavarman his son by his queen Bhuvanadevī. The existence of this prince is known from his grant, which was discovered at the village of Nanyaura, in the Panwari Jaitpur Tahsīl of the Hamirpur District of U. P. along with a grant of Dhaṅgadeva.[4] The plate which is written on one side only, contains 19 lines of writing. The inscription opens with *Oṁ svasti*,

1 *EI*, Vol. I, p. 190, Vs. 23-24.

2 *IA*, Vol. XVI, p. 205, lines 1-3; *ibid*, Vol. XVIII, p. 238, lines 2-8; *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 198 and 200, Vs. 6 and 26; *JASB*, Vol. 1848, XVII, p. 317, V. 7.

3 *EI*, Vol. I, p. 200, V. 26.

4 See *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 685, No. (8).

and then traces the genealogy of the donor as follows: *Pb.-M.-P.* Vidyādharadeva-*pādānudhyāta-Pb.- M.P.*-Vijaya-pāla-deva-*pād-ānu-dhyāta-Pb.-M.-P.-Paramamāheśvara-Kālaṁjarādhipati* Deva-varma-deva. This prince in (V.)S.1107 (A.D. 1051), from his residence at Suhavāsa, on the occasion of the anniversary (*Sāṁvat-sarike*) of his mother the *rājñī* Bhuvanadevī, granted the village of Kaṭhahau (?) situated in Raṇamaua in the Rāja-pura-avasthā, to the Brāhman Abhimanyu, an emigrant from the *Bhaṭṭa-grāma* named Ḍhakārī. The grant ends with the name of the donor '*Śrīmad*-Devavarma-devaḥ.'[1] The Candella records refer to no political incidents of his reign. In some of these he is altogether omitted. The Mau stone inscription of Madanavarman, for instance, mentions Kīrtivarman after Vijayapāla.[2] The same thing is done in the Deogarh rock-inscription of Kīrtivarman and a fragmentary Candella stone inscription from Mahoba.[3] All these inscriptions however describe Kīrtivarman as son of Vijayapāla. It is therefore likely that Devavarman was succeeded by his younger brother Kīrtivarman. Though it is not unusual for the compilers of royal genealogies to omit a brother from the family tree, there are reasons to suspect that this omission may have been more than casual. The *Prabodha-candrodaya* of Kṛṣṇa Miśra, which allegorically represents in the form of a drama the eternal struggle between *Viveka* and *Mahā-mōha*, supplies the following interesting information on the point.[4] We are told in the introductory portion of the play that the 'glorious Gopāla has ordered it to be produced before king Kīrtivarman.' This Gopāla is called *Sakala sāmanta-cakra-cūḍāmaṇi*, who like Paraśurāma extirpated the race of tyrannical kings: "His merciless battle axe spared neither

[1] The grant was first published by V. A. Smith in the *JASB*, Vol. XLVII. Part I, p. 81. It was then properly edited by Kielhorn in the *IA*, Vol. XVI, pp. 201-02 and 204-07. The plate is now in the Bengal Asiatic Society.

[2] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 198, V. 7.

[3] *IA*, Vol. XVIII, p. 238, line 2-3; *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 219 and 222, Vs. 23-26.

[4] The text has been printed at *The Nirṇaya-Sāgara* Press, Bombay. There is an imperfect translation by J. Taylor, London, 1812.

women, child, nor old age; it cleft the broad shoulders of the enemy, and its stroke was followed by a dreadful sound."[1] In other passages Gopāla is compared with the Man-lion incarnation (*Nṛsiṁha-rūpa*) and with the primeval boar (*Mahā-varāha*) who 'raised up the earth when it had sunk in the waters of destruction, poured down upon its sovereigns.' These passages indicate that Gopāla acted as the saviour in a time of great crisis. Several passages tell us that his services were undertaken in the interest of Kīrtivarman. One passage runs as follows: "Gopāla, whose glory fills the universe, who, aided by his sword as his friend conquered the lords of men and has invested with the sovereignty of the earth (*Sāmrājya*) Kīrtivarman, the chief of princes (*narapati-tilaka*)."[2] Elsewhere we are told that Gopāla when engaged in the *digvijaya-vyāpāra* of Kīrtivarmadeva became *viṣaya-rasāsvāda-dūṣita*. Thus it is clear that Gopāla must have acted as a saviour to the fortune of the Candellas when she was overwhelmed by the attack of enemies. The name of these enemies is contained in the following statement of the *Sūtradhāra*: "His anger was roused to re-establish the sovereigns of the race of the Moon, who had been dethroned by the lord of Cedi, the Rudra and Fire of destruction of all royal families of the earth (*sakala-bhūpāla-kula-pralaya-kālāgni-rudra*)."[3] The *Naṭī* also refers to the victory of Gopāla over the armies of the confederacy of kings (*sakala-rāja-maṇḍala*) and of Karṇa, and compares him with the Madhumathana who obtained Lakṣmī by churning the ocean. In another place Gopāla, having overcome the strong Karṇa is said to have caused the rise of the illustrious king Kīrtivarman just as discrimination having overcome strong delusion gave rise to knowledge.[4] The statements referred

[1] I, 3; I, 6-7.
[2] I, 4.
[3] I, 6.
[4] I, 9. The importance of the passage was first noticed by Cunningham, *ASR*, Vol. II, p. 453. See also *EI*, Vol. I, p. 220.

to above are also supported by epigraphic evidence. Thus verse 26 of a Candella inscription at Mahoba records that Kīrtivarman conquered Lakṣmī-Karṇa: "Just as Puruṣottama (*Viṣṇu*), having produced the nectar by churning with the mountain *Mandara*) the rolling (milk) ocean, whose high waves had swallowed many mountains, obtained (the goddess) Lakṣmī together with the elephants (of the eight regions),—he (*viz.*, Kīrtivarman), having acquired fame by crushing with his strong arm the haughty Lakṣmī-Karṇa, whose armies had destroyed many princes, obtained splendour in this world together with elephants."[1] These victories are also referred to in V. 3 of the stone inscription of the Candella Vīravarman. The verse runs as follows: "In that (race) there was a ruler over the earth whose fame was sung by the Vidyādharas, (who was) the pitcher-born (Agastya) in swallowing that ocean—Karṇa, (and) the lord of creatures in creating anew the kingdom (*Prajeśvaro nūtana-rājya-sṛṣṭau*...),—the illustrious Kīrtivarman."[2]

Though there is some difference in the epigraphic and literary evidence, the former giving all the credit of the victory to Kīrtivarman and the latter to his chief *Sāmanta* Gopāla,[3] yet there is fundamental agreement in the statement that the Candella power was for sometime completely eclipsed by the victories of Lakṣmī-Karṇa, the Kalacuri king of Ḍāhala (*c.* 1042-70). The *Prabodha-candrodaya* distinctly says that 'the race of the moon' (the Candellas) was dethroned by the lord of Cedi, while one inscription gives to Kīrtivarman the credit of recreating

[1] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 219-20 and 222. Hultzsch has noticed the 'curious coincidence' of this verse and the Prakrit passage in the *Prabodhacandrodaya* where Gopāla is compared with Madhumathana and the army of Karṇa with the milk-ocean; see *ibid.*

[2] *Ibid*, pp. 327 and 329. Compare also lines 8-9 of the fragmentary Kālañjara Candella inscription in *JASB*, Vol. XVII, p. 317, which appear to refer to the same incident in similar verse.

[3] I am disposed to think that the victories were really gained by the *Sāmanta*, for otherwise a drama in which that claim was so forcibly expressed could not have been staged before the reigning king.

like the Creator the kingdom (of the Candellas). The destruction of the Candella kingdom is also referred to by Bilhaṇa, who describes Karṇa, the lord of Ḍāhala, as 'the death to the lord of Kālañjara mountain" (*Kālaḥ Kālañjara-giri-pater yaḥ*).[1] It is therefore certain that Karṇa, whose contact with the kings of Northern India from the Arabian sea to the Bay of Bengal is established on authentic documents,[2] and who is said to have dominated India from the borders of Kashmir to the southernmost point of the Indian peninsula,[3] must have held in subjection the Candella territory for some period before his defeat at the hands of Gopāla, the Brāhman general of Kīrtivarman. It is not unlikely, as the statement of Bilhaṇa seems to indicate, that one of the predecessors of Kīrtivarman may have even lost his life in the wars with the Kalacuris. The curious silence of the *praśastikāras* regarding the achievements of Vijayapāla and the omission of Devavarman from the family tree may therefore be explained to some extent by the fact that their reigns represented one of the darkest chapters in the dynastic history of the Candellas. We have traced how step by step their power increased till in the reign of Vidyādhara they were regarded by the Muslim writers as the most powerful kings in India. But the defeats which they inflicted on their Kalacuri neighbours since the days of Yaśovarman were at last reversed with disastrous results. In spite of Kīrtivarman's claims to have regained his dominions, the Candella power never really recovered from the blow inflicted upon it by Lakṣmī-Karṇa. Though it lingered long before it fell a prey to the Muslims, it could never again gain a predominant position in the chequered history of Northern India.

It is difficult to fix the time of these alleged victories of Kīrtivarman. His only date so far known is V. S. 1154 (A.D. 1098). The approximate dates of the other princes of

[1] *Vikramāṅka-deva-carita.* Ed. by Bühler, XVIII, 93.
[2] See *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, my chapter on the Haihayas (Kalacuris).
[3] *EI*, Vol. II, p. 302.

India who also claim to have defeated Lakṣmī-Karṇa (*c.* 1042-1070 A.D.), are as follow :[1]

(*a*) Cāḷukya Someśvara of Kalyāṇī—*c.* 1040-69 A.D.
(*b*) Caulukya Bhīma of Aṇahilapattana,—*c.* 1021-64 A.D.
(*c*) Vigrahapāla of Bengal and Bihar—*c.* 1055-81 A.D.
(*d*) Udayāditya of Mālava—*c.* 1059 A.D.

These however do not help us to arrive at any definite conclusions. But if the Basahi plate of the Gāhaḍavāla Govindacandra can be trusted, Lakṣmī-Karṇa must have sustained his defeat sometime before *c.* 1090-1104 A.D. For it tells us that 'when on the death of king Bhoja and king Karṇa, the world became troubled, Candradeva (*c.* 1090-1104) came to the rescue and became king and established his capital at Kanyākubja.'[2] An earlier date than 1090 A.D. is supplied by the Kahirha grant of Yaśaḥkarṇa, dated in (K.) *Saṁvat* 823, which indicates that Karṇa abdicated his throne in favour of his son some time before 1073 A.D.

An interesting piece of evidence of Kalacuri occupation of the Candella territories is probably supplied by the series of Candella coins which start from the reign of Kīrtivarman. The coins of Kīrtivarman so far discovered are of gold only, and, with the exception of the legend, are almost exact copies of the coins of the Kalacuri Gāṅgeyadeva, the father of Lakṣmī-Karṇa.[3] It is therefore likely that the Candellas retained the Kalacuri type of coinage, which probably became extensively current in Jejā-bhukti during the period of occupation by Karṇa.[4]

[1] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 235-36, Vs. 19-22 ; Vol. II, pp. 185-86, Vs. 32-34 ; *ibid*, p. 303 ; *Vikramāṅka-deva-carita*, I, 102-03. *Rāmacarita*, *MASB*, Vol. III, p. 22.

[2] *IA*, Vol. XIV, pp. 102-03, lines 3-5. For the earliest date of Candradeva, see his Candravati grant dated in 1090 A.D. ; *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 302.

[3] See *CMI*, pp. 77-79, and No. 19 on plate XIII ; *ASR*, Vol. II, pp. 458-59 ; Vol. X, pp 25-26, plate X, No. 5. *CCIM*, pp. 251 and 253, No. 1. According to Cunningham the seated nimbate four-armed goddess on the obverse side is *Pārvatī* , but according to others it is *Lakṣmī* ; see *IA*, 1908, p. 147. The coins are of two denominations, *drammas* (approximately 63 grains), and ¼ *drammas* (approximately 31 grains).

[4] It is however curious that we have not so far discovered any coins of so powerful a king as Lakṣmī-Karṇa.

Besides these gold coins the only other important record of Kīrtivarman [1] is his *Deogarh Rock Inscription* :

'This inscription is on a rock near the river-gate of the fort of the town of Deogarh, situated at the western end of the tableland of the Lalitpur range of hills, immediately overhanging the river Betwa.' It contains 8 lines; opening with *Oṁ oṁ namaḥ Śivāya*, it traces the genealogy of the illustrious prince Kīrtivarman, son of king Vijayapāla and grandson of the renowned prince Vidyādhara, of the *Caṁdella-vaṁśa*. V. 5 introduces us to this king's 'chief counsellor among his ministers' (*Amātya-mantr-indra*), Vatsarāja, who had gone forth (*vi-nirgata*) from Ramaṇīpura. This officer, we are told, 'quickly wrested from the enemy this whole district (*maṇḍala*) by his counsel and valour,' and made 'this fort Kīrtigiri.' The immediate object of this inscription was to record the building of a flight of steps named after him *Vatsarāja-ghaṭṭa*. The date, (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1154 (A.D.1098), comes at the end.[2]

The *Prabodha-candrodaya* gives us the name of Gopāla, who was one of the prominent *Sāmantas* in the court of Kīrtivarman. The record mentioned above supplies us with the name of another official, *viz.*, Vatsa who appears to have conquered the Betwa valley for his master. Besides these two, the Candella records mention the names of two more officers of this king. One of these was Ananta, son of Mahīpāla, who served as a minister of Vijayapāla. The Mau inscription of the time of Madanavarman tells us that Ananta combined in himself 'spotless sacred knowledge,' bravery and efficiency in 'the very high office of counselling,' and was the approved minister of the

1 Cunningham suggested that a temple of Siva, the remains of which he discovered at Mahoba, 'was probably built in the time of Kirtivarman,' see *ASR*, Vol. II, p. 441. V. A. Smith suggested that the lakes named *Kirat Sagar* at Mahoba and *Chanderi* (in Lalitpur) were also the work of this king. Kirtivarman's name is also connected with buildings at Kālañjar and Ajaigarh.' See *IA*, 1908, p. 184.

2 A transcript of the inscription accompanied by a photozincograph, was first published by Cunningham; see his *ASR*, Vol. X, p. 108, and plate XXXIII. It was then edited by Hultzsch in the *IA*, Vol. XI, pp. 311-12; finally edited by Kielhorn in *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. [illegible]

king Kirtīvarman.[1] The Ajaigarh rock inscription of the time of Bhojavarman mentions the name of another officer, the *Vāstavya-Kāyastha* Maheśvara. We are told that he received the title of *Viśiṣa* of Kālañjara, accompanied by the grant of Pipalāhikā, from Kīrtivarman, 'the crest-jewel of the princes of the yellow-mountain districts (*pītaśaila-viṣayeṣu*).[2]

Kīrtivarman was succeeded by his son Sallakṣaṇavarman or Hallakṣanavarma. The latter name is found on his coins.[3] His gold *drammas* and *quarter-drammas* belong to the same type as those of his father; but his copper *drammas* on the obverse substitute the figure of the 'Hanumān under a canopy' in the place of the four-handed seated goddess. Unfortunately no inscription of this king has so far been discovered.[4] But the records of his successors contain some information about his reign. Thus the Mau stone inscription of Madanavarman, after praising him in vague terms for his prowess, victory and liberality, seems to hint at his success against some unknown enemies in the *Doab* between the Ganges and the Jumna (*Antarvedī-viṣaya*).[5] One of his officers is said to have utterly defeated his foes 'by excess of his heroism,' and 'dissipated the fears of the subjects by clearing the country of thorns.'

[1] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 200 and 205. Vs. 29-31. Ananta claims to have served at different times as *mantri mantrādhikāre*, *hasty-aśva-netā*, *pura-balādhyakṣa* and *abhimata-saciva* of the king.

[2] *Ibid*, pp. 333 and 336, V. 9. The name *pīta-śaila-viṣaya* has not yet been met with elsewhere and has not been identified. The word *Viśiṣa* of this record needs explanation. It was certainly an administrative post.

[3] *CMI*, p. 79, Nos. 14-16, plate VIII. *ASR*, Vol. II, pp. 458-59. Vol. X, p. 26, plate X, No. 6-g, 7-g, and 8-g. The change of *s* sound into *h* is quite common in some N. Indian vernaculars, *e.g.*, *hālā* for *sālā*; *he* for *se* in some forms of spoken Bengali.

[4] A fragmentary stone inscription, written in Nāgarī characters of about the 11th or the 12th century was discovered on the walls of the ruined fort of Jhansi. Line 2 of this inscription refers to the Ganges as the resting-place of Kānyakubja. It also appears to mention the (Candella?) Kīrtivarman and (the Malwa ruler) Udayāditya. The record belongs to the illustrious Sallakṣaṇa-siṁha. Kielhorn did not see 'any cogent reason' for identifying him 'with the Candella Sallakṣaṇavarman or for assigning this inscription to the Candella ruler. See *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 214-17. The inscription is now in the Lucknow Museum.

[5] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 198 and 201, Vs. 9-10 and 36-39.

The Ajaigarh rock-inscription of Bhojavarman tells us that Sallakṣaṇa's 'sword took away the fortune of the Mālavas and the Cedis.'[1] We have seen that in the previous reign the revived Candella power was extending its influence on the Betwa. It is not unlikely therefore that Sallakṣaṇa may have carried out successful raids in the Paramāra territory in Malwa from the *Kīrti-giri-durga*. The contemporary Malwa king was most probably Naravarman (*c*. 1104 A.D.), the grandson of Udayāditya. The Cedi contemporary of Sallakṣaṇa was most probably Yaśaḥ-Karṇa (*c*. 1073-1125 A.D.), the son of Lakṣmī-Karṇa. It is difficult to decide who may have been the enemies of the Candella king in the *Antarvedī*. But if Sallakṣaṇa's objective in invading the Ganges-Jumna Doāb was to capture Kanauj he may have come into conflict with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince Gopāla or one of his predecessors who ruled over the city about this period.[2] As the Gāhaḍavāla Candradeva claims to have conquered Kanauj between *c* 1094-1104, it seems probable that the attempt of the Candellas to control the *Doāb* proved abortive.

As to the names of the officers who served under this king, the Mau stone-inscription of Madanavarman informs us that the Brāhman Ananta, who held various responsible posts under Kīrtivarman, continued to serve under his son.[3] The same inscription tells us that Vatsa, Gadādhara, Vāmana and Pradyumna, the four sons of the abovementioned officer after 'being properly tried,' were all appointed to suitable posts by

1 *Ibid*, p. 327, V. 4.

2 *IA*, Vol. XVII, pp. 61-64. Kielhorn read the date as V.S.1276. It was corrected by W. Hoey in *JASB*, 1892, Vol. LXI, Extra No., pp. 57-64, and the correction, V.S 1176, was accepted by Kielhorn in *IA*, Vol. XXIV, p. 176; *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 61-66; see also *JASB*, 1925, pp. 103-06. It is possible that the lunar line of Kānyakubja, who appear to trace their descent to one Jayanta, and who are referred to in the *Jhansi fragmentary stone inscription of Sallakṣaṇasiṁha*, may have been the predecessors of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in Kanauj. It is interesting to notice that the line of Jayanta seems to have been connected with the Caulukyas, the traditional enemies of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas; see *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 214-17.

3 *EI*, Vol. 1, pp. 200-01, Vs. 33-37.

king Sallakṣaṇavarman.[1] Of these, Gadādhara appears to have been the officer responsible for the success of the king in the *Antarvedī*.[2]

Sallakṣaṇavarman was succeeded by his son Jayavarman. Though some of the inscriptions omit him and his father from the dynastic lists,[3] his existence is established by epigraphic and numismatic evidence. Thus the Ajaigarh inscription of the time of Vīravarman distinctly tells us that 'after him (Sallakṣaṇa), the valiant Jayavarmadeva ruled the kingdom.'[4] The close proximity of the succession of these two princes is also proved by the Mau stone-inscription of the time of Madanavarman, which informs us that when Ananta, who had served under the successive reigns of Kīrtivarman and Sallakṣaṇa, 'abandoned his body in the waters of (the river of) the gods and the daughter of the Sun' (*i. e.*, at the confluences of the *Gangā* and the *Yamunā*), his son Gadādhara 'was eagerly appointed by king Jayavarman, near his own person, in the office of *Pratihāra*.'[5] The only epigraphic record of this king so far known is the *Khajraho stone-inscription* dated in (V.)S. 1173 (*c.* A.D. 1117), which contains a renewed document of king Dhaṅga. It is curious that this inscription does not contain any names of the princes who ruled between Dhaṅga and Jayavarman. In the two concluding verses (Vs. 63-64) we are simply told that the above record was "caused to be (re-)written in clear letters by Jayavarmadeva-*nṛpati*." It was re-written by the learned *Gauḍa* Jayapāla, the *Kāyastha* of the above prince.[6] Nothing

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Ibid*, p. 206, Vs. 38-39 and fn. 75. The fragmentary Candella inscription which Cunningham discovered at Mahoba in 1865 refers to a son of Kīrtivarman in V. 29. (*Āsīt tadīya-tanayodbhūta*). But as 46 syllables of this verse, as well as the remainder of this inscription are lost, we cannot say definitely to whose time this inscription really belongs. For the inscription which is now in the Lucknow Museum, see Cunningham *ASR*, XXI, pp. 71-72, plate XXI, *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 217-22.

[3] *IA*, Vol. XVI, p. 208.

[4] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 327, V. 4.

[5] *Ibid*, p. 206, V. 40.

[6] *Ibid*, p. 147, lines 32-34.

is known about the political incidents of this king's reign. His copper *drammas* (grains 60) are close imitations of those of his father.[1] Cunningham noticed a solitary silver coin in the collection of the British Museum; but it cannot be traced now.[2]

According to the Ajaigarh rock-inscription of Vīravarman, Jayavarman was succeeded by Pṛthīvarman. The Augasi plate of Madanavarman tells us that the *Pb.-M.-P.* Pṛthvīvarmadeva meditated on the feet of (*Pādānudhyāta*) *Pb.-M.-P.* Kīrtivarmadeva. The suspicion that the former was therefore a son of the latter is confirmed by verse 12 of the Mau inscription of Madanavarman, which describes Pṛthvīvarman as 'the co-uterine younger brother of the illustrious king Sallakṣaṇavarman.'[3] It is therefore clear that the uncle succeeded his nephew. The suggestion that 'Jayavarman left no capable issue'[4] though unsupported by any evidence, is not impossible. Lines 10 and 11 of an imperfectly edited Kalinjar inscription however seem to indicate that Jayavarman 'being wearied of government,' abdicated his throne in favour of his successor.[5] Pṛthvīvarman's copper coins of the usual type with the figure of the 'monkey-god' on the obverse were known to Cunningham.[6] The Mau inscription referred to above supplies us with the name of an officer of this reign. It tells us that Gadādhara, who had served the last king in the office of *Pratihāra*, and who was well-versed, in science, military exercises, and secret counsel, was 'subsequently appointed chief of the ministers (*Mantri-mukhya*) by Pṛthvīvarman.[7]

[1] *CMI*, pp. 77-79, No. 17, plate VIII; *ASR*, Vol. II, pp. 458-59; Vol. X, p. 26, plate X, No. 9/C and 10/C.

[2] *IA*, 1908, p. 147.

[3] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 198 and 208, V. 12.

[4] *IA*, 1908, p. 129.

[5] *JASB*, 1848, Part I, pp. 313-19.

[6] *CMI*, p. 79, plate VIII, No. 18; *ASR*, Vol. II, pp. 458-59, Vol. X, p. 26, plate X, No. 11/C.

[7] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 201, V. 41.

If from the silence of the official *praśastikāras* we conclude that the last two reigns were not a particularly brilliant period of the Candellas' history, there is evidence to show that the reign of the next king, Madanavarman, the son of Pṛthvīvarman, marks a successful epoch in their annals. This is evident from the following list of the number and distribution of his inscriptions (*c.* 1129-63 A. D.) and coins :

(1) *Kalinjar pillar-inscription.*—It is incised on a pillar in the temple of Nīlakaṇṭha, inside the fort of Kalinjar. The record opens with 'adoration to *Śri*-Nīlakaṇṭha,' and then gives the date, (*V.*) *Saṁ* 1186 (A. D. 1129), with the name of *Mahārāja-Śrī*-Madanavarmadeva. Next come the names of *Mahāpratihāra* Saṁgrāmasiṁha and *Mahānācani* Padmāvatī. The inscription ends with *lāmṣuḥ* Auji (which according to Cunningham means written by Auji). The inscription is fragmentary, but it evidently recorded some benefactions by the two persons mentioned above. Cunningham took them to be 'two of the permanent attendants attached to the Nīlakaṇṭha shrine, one being the chief doorkeeper and the other the chief of the dancing girls.' But it is probable that Saṁgrāmasiṁha was an official of the state, while Padmāvatī may have occupied the post of the chief court *danseuse*.[1]

(2) *Kalinjar broken pillar-inscription.*—It is said to have been found originally in the temple of Nīlakaṇṭha within the fort of Kalinjar. It opens with *Oṁ*, and then gives the date (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1187 (A. D. 1130) with the name *Śrīmad*-Madanavarmadeva. Next occur the words *Kālañjarādri Śrī*-Trisalka....... The inscription is incomplete ; but it evidently described some benefaction by the person mentioned last.[2]

(3) *Kalinjar rock-inscription.*—It contains nine lines, and is incised 'on the rock to the left, or north, side of the temple of Nīlakaṇṭha in the fort of Kalinjar. It opens with *Oṁ*

[1] *ASR*, Vol. XXI, p. 34, plate X, A.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 34, plate X, B. In 1884-85 the piece of broken pillar which contained the inscription was lying at the police-station at Kalinjar.

svasti, and then gives the name, *Pb.-M.-P.-Paramamāheśvara-Śrī-Kālañjarādhipati-Śrī*-Madanavarmadeva. During his reign the following worshippers of his lotus feet, *viz.*, "*Mahārājaputra-Śrī-Solhaṇa-suta-maha(ā?)-Sahaṇkika maha(ā?)-Selaita-Kuma (ā?)ra-Kulakumalenu Mahārājaputra-Śrī-Vacha (Vatsa?)-rāja-deva-Śrī-Kavidyaṁka- Achoda-Rāuta-Śrī-Udanaḥ*,' set up an image (*mūrti*) of *Nīlakaṇṭha*. The image was the work of the *Rūpakāra* Lahaḍa, son of the *Sūtradhāra* Rāma and the *Rūpakāra* Lakṣmīdhara. The inscription ends with the date (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1188 (A. D. 1131).[1]

(4) *Augasi grant.*—The plate was found in the Augasi Pargana in the Baberu Tahsil of the Banda district, U. P. The inscription contains 19 lines, and is incised on one side of a single copper plate. There is a ring-hole at the lower part of the plate; but 'the ring with the seal attached to it' is lost. In the upper-middle part of the plate however there is engraved the figure of the goddess *Lakṣmī* sitting in the *Padmāsana* with an elephant at each side 'standing on what looks like an expanded water lily,[2] pouring water over her head.' The inscription opens with *Oṁ svasti* and a verse praising the princes of the *Candrātreya-vaṁśa*. In that family lustrous because of the appearance of Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti, arose *Pb.-M.-P.*-Kīrtivarmadeva *pādānudhyāta-Pb.-M.-P.-Pṛthvīvarma-deva-pādānudhyāta-Pb.-M.-P.-Paramamāheśvara-Kālañjarādhipati*-Madanavarmadeva. Then follows some vague praise of the last ruler, after which we are told that this king, from his residence near Bhailasvāmin (mod. Bhilsa) granted a piece of land measuring 10 ploughs (*hala*) of the village

1. The inscription was first edited in *JASB*. 1848 Vol. XVII. Part I, pp. 321-22. No. 4, as an appendix to Maisey's 'account of the antiquities of Kalinjar.' Cunningham re-edited it in his *ASR*, Vol. XXI. pp. 34-35, plate X, C. *Rāuta* is an abbreviation of *Rājaputra*; see *EI*. Vol. IV. p. 154.

2. This is the view of Kielhorn. To me a comparison with the [illegible] plates, EI, Vol. IV, plate facing p. 158, seems to indicate that what that [illegible] expanded water lilies is really an imperfect representation of the two [illegible] the *Gaja-Lakṣmī*.

Vamharadā in the Sudali-*viṣaya* to a Brāhman who was an emigrant from the village of Ḍhakārī, in the (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1190 (A. D. 1134). The inscription was written by the *Dharmalekhi* (law-writer?) Ṭhāsīsuḍha, and engraved by the *Vijñānika* Jalhaṇa.[1]

(5) *Khajraho Jaina image-inscription.*—This inscription consists of a single line. It does not contain the name of the reigning king; but it refers to the sons of the *Śreṣṭhin* Pāṇidhara of the *Grahapati* family (*anvaya*) which is well-known from the Khajraho stone inscription of Kokkala of the (V.) S. 1058. The inscription is dated in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1205 (1147-48).[2]

(6) *Ajaigarh stone-inscription.*—This epigraph consists of 18 lines, incised on the jamb of the upper gate in the fort of Ajaigarh (which is situated about 20 miles by road to the S. W. of Kalinjar). The inscription opens with *Oṁ*, and then gives the date (V.) *Saṁvat* 1208 (A. D. 1151). It next records that during the reign of Madanavarman a certain *Rāuta* Veda of the village of Kortia, who was a Kṣatriya by caste (*jāti*), built something (a *Sirotha* ?) in the Jayapura-durga for the use of all people. The record ends with the name of the *Sūtradhāra* *Thā-Śri*-Suprata.[3]

(7) *Mahoba Jaina image-inscription.*—This consists of two

[1] This plate is now in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It was first edited by Dr. R. L. Mitra in *JASB*. Vol. XLVII, Part I, p. 73. Re-edited by Kielhorn in 1887 in the *IA*, Vol. XVI, pp. 202 and 207-10. The village Ḍhakārī is also mentioned in the plate of Devavarman; see *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 606.

[2] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 152-53. For other inscriptions which do not mention the king's name but whose dates fall within the reign of Madanavarman, see (1) *ASR*, Vol. XXI, p. 35, plate X, B. Kalinjar rock inscription; dedication of an image of *Nṛsiṁha* in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1192 by *Ṭhakkura* Nṛsiṁha; (2) *ibid*, p. 36, plate X, E. Kalinjar cell (*Kotri*) Śaiva inscription, containing a record of 2 Brāhmans, dated in (V.) S. 1194; (3) *ibid*, Vol. X, p. 47; Chandpur (half-way between Dudahi and Deogarh) pillar inscription, dated in V. S. 1207. This record is of an unknown person who belonged to Vaccha-gotra and *Mahāpratihāra*-vaṁśa; (4) *JRAS*, 1898, pp. 101-02; Horniman Jain image inscription; dedication of the image by the *Śreṣṭhin* Māṇa of the *Grahapati* family of Maṇḍilapura, in V. S 1208. (5) and (6) *ASR*, Vol. II, p. 448, Nos. 22 and 23; Khajraho (V. S. 1212) and Mahoba (V. S. [illegible]) inscriptions.

[3] *ASR*, Vol. XXI, p. 49, plate XII, A.

lines, incised on the pedestal of an image of Neminātha. The second line contains the date (*V.*) *Saṁ* 1211 (A.D. 1155) in the reign of Madanavarmadeva. The inscription records the dedication of the image which was made by the *rūpakāra* Lakhana.[1]

(8) *Khajraho Jaina image-inscription.*—This consists of a single line 'divided into two parts by a boss.' It opens with *Oṁ*, and then gives the date (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1215 (A. D. 1157-58) in the *pravardhamāna-vijaya rājya* of Madanavarma-deva. On this date the image bearing the inscription was caused to be set up by the *Sādhu* Sālhe, the son of Pāhilla, who was the son of the *Śreṣṭhin* Dedū, of the *Grahapati* family. This inscription adds that the sons of Sālhe Mahāgaṇa and others, 'always bow down to *Sambhavanātha*.' It ends with the name of the *rūpakāra* Rāmadeva.[2]

(9) *Vāridurga grant.*—The Semra plates of Paramardi refer to a grant of his grandfather (*pītāmaha*) which was issued when the latter was resident at Vāridurga (mod. Barigar, N. 25°14′, E. 80°6′), in the year (*V.*) *S.* 1219 (A. D. 1162). Among the villages granted is Madanapura, which has been identified with the modern village of the same name in the Jhansi district. Another village, Vadavāri, is probably Berwara (N. 24°30′, E. 78°41′) while Dudhai may be the place of the same name (N. 24°26′, E. 78°27′) in the South of Lalitpur.[3]

(10) *Mahoba Jaina image-inscription.*—This records the dedication of the image in the (*V.*) *S.* 1220 (A. D. 1163) in the reign of Madanavarmadeva.[4]

(11) *Mau stone-inscription.*—This was discovered 'at the foot of a rocky hill in the vicinity of the town of Mau, in the Jhansi district' in the U. P. It consists of 29 lines; but a considerable portion of it is greatly damaged. There is no date

1 *Ibid*, p. 78, plate XXII, D.

2 First edited by Cunningham, *ASR*, XXI, p. 61, D. It was re-edited by Kielhorn from an impression taken by Burgess in the *EI*, Vol. I, p. 151.

3 *EI*, Vol. IV, p. 158. For other place names which have been generally identified with places between 78°-79° E. and 24°-25°N., see *ibid*, p. 156.

4 *ASR*, Vol. II, p. 448, No. 25.

in the preserved portion. The inscription is throughout in verse. Its proper object is 'to record the erection of a temple of Viṣṇu, the building of a tank near the village of Deddu and the execution of some other work of piety, by one of the king's ministers whose name appears to have been Gadādhara (verses 46-48) ; by way of introduction the inscription (in verses 3-16) gives a list of the Candella kings from Dhaṅga to Madanavarman and (in verses 17-45) an account of the family of the ministers of these kings to which Gadhādhara belonged.'[1]

(12) *Coins.*— Cunningham in 1862-65 noticed 4 gold (one large and 3 small) and two copper coins of this king.[2] In his report on his tours in 1874-77 he noticed again one gold *dramma* (61 grains), three gold quarter-*drammas* (15 grains), and a copper quarter-*dramma* (15 grains).[3] In 1894 the same scholar described and illustrated these three types of coins of Madanavarman in his *Coins of Mediaeval India.*[4] In 1906 V. A. Smith in his *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, described one gold *dramma* and two gold quarter-*drammas* of the same king.[5] So far no silver coins had been noticed. In 1910 however 'a find consisting of 48 silver coins was found in a village named Panwar of the Teonthar Tahsil of the Rewah State.' It consisted of 8 large (about 60 to 62·75 grains) and 40 small (about 14·17 to 16·07 grains) silver coins of Madanavarman. They are 'exact copies' of the larger and smaller gold coins with the seated goddess on the reverse (or obverse, according to Cunningham).'[6]

1 Lieut. Price first published a transcript and translation of the inscription in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XII, pp. 357-74. Kielhorn properly edited it in the *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 195-207. Did Kielhorn mean by the 'town of Mau,' Mau-Ranipur, the only town in the Mau Tahsil of Jhansi ? See *IGI*, 1908, Vol. XVII, p. 222.

2 *ASR*, Vol. II, p. 458.

3 *ASR*, Vol. X, p. 26, plate X, Nos. 12/G, 13/G and 14/C.

4 *CMI*, p. 79, plate VIII, Nos. 19-21.

5 *CCIM*, p. 258.

6 Noticed by R. D. Banerji in *JASB*, 1914, Vol. X (N.S.), pp. 199-200.

The above list certainly indicates a revival of the Candella power. Inscriptions 1-3 and 5-7 show that he was the master of the four famous places, Kalinjar, Khajraho, Ajaigarh and Mahoba, which are traditionally connected with the history of the Candellas. The Augasi and Mau inscriptions show his possession of the Banda and Jhansi districts and the neighbouring regions. As the former inscription was issued from Bhilsa and the Vāridurga grant records gifts of places within 50 miles of that place, it may be gathered that the Candella power had crossed the Betwa in the S.W. and advanced into the Paramāra territory in Malwa. This inference is confirmed by Verse 15 of the inscription No. 11, which tells us that 'the ruler of Mālava, full of arrogance, was quickly exterminated' by Madanavarman.[1] It is difficult to identify the *Mālaveśa* referred to in the verse. But he must have been one of the three Paramāra kings, Yaśovarman (A. D. 1134), Jayavarman, and Lakṣmīvarman (A.D. 1143),[2] who seem to have ruled during the reign of Madanavarman (c. 1129-63 A.D.). The success of the Candellas in this direction seems to have brought them into contact of the Caulukyas of Anahilapātaka. The Gujarat chronicles refer to wars between Madanavarman and Siddharāja Jayasiṁha. We know from the *Dvyāśraya-kāvya* that Siddharāja (c. 1094-1144 A.D.) conquered Ujjain. According to the *Kīrtikaumudī*, Siddharāja went from Dhārā to Kālañjara. 'The account in the *Kumārapālacarita* suggests that Siddharāja was compelled to come to terms and make peace.'[3] This agrees with the statement of a Kālañjara stone-inscription that Madanavarman 'in an instant defeated the king of Gurjara, as Kṛṣṇa in former times defeated Kaṁsa.'[4] The identification of the *Gurjareśa* of this passage with the Gurjart king Siddharāja is

1 *EI*, Vol. I, p. 198.
2 *EI*, Vol. III, Appendix I, B, p. 15, Nos. 14-16; also *DHNI*, Vol. II, [illegible] on the Paramāras.
3 *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 178-79.
4 *JASB*, 1848, Vol. XVII, Part I, p. 318, line 14. The tradition [illegible] defeated the king of Gurjara is also recorded by the Hindu poet Cand [illegible]

generally accepted.[1] In the west the discovery of the Panwar hoard of his coins may indicate the possession of that portion of Baghelkhand which lies to the north of the Kaimur Range. Expansion on this side again brought him into conflict with the Kalacuris. This is proved by the claim made by the Mau stone-inscription that before his very name 'ever quickly flees the Cedi king, vanquished in fierce fight.'[2] The defeated Cedi king may possibly be identified with Gayā-Karṇa (*c.* 1151 A.D.), the son of Yaśaḥkarṇa (*c.* 1073-1125 A.D.). In the north his relationship with the Gāhaḍavālas is indicated by the statement of the Mau inscription that through dread of him 'the king of Kāśi always passes his time in friendly behaviour.'[3] The *Kāśirāja* referred to in this passage is certainly the powerful king Govindacandra (*c.* 1114-68 A.D.). In the south, though there is no reliable evidence to indicate the extent of Candella power, tradition seems to connect their power with territory as far south as the Bhanrer Range.[4] It would therefore appear that the territories of Madanavarman were probably included more or less in the triangle of which the base was formed by the Vindhya, Bhanrer and Kaimur ranges and the two sides by the rivers Betwa and Jumna and the northern boundary line of Baghelkhand. Madanavarman had a long reign. The dates on his records show that he ruled at least for 34 years.

A Kalinjar inscription mentions the name of Pratāpavarman as that of his younger brother.[5] According to the Baghari stone-inscription of Paramardi, one Lāhaḍa, born in the *gotra* of Vasiṣṭha, was placed at the head of all his *Mantris* by Madanavarman.[6] The Brāhman Gadādhara, who claims to have

[1] *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 178.

[2] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 198, V. 15.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *IA*, 1908, p. 144.

[5] *JASB*, 1848, Vol. XVII, Part I, p. 318, line 15. Though the inscription distinctly refers to Pratāpavarman as *bhrātā kanīyān*, Vaidya wrongly represents him as 'his elder son;' see his *Downfall of Hindu India*, 1926, p. 198.

[6] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 210, V. 20.

served as the *Mantrimukhya* of Pṛthvīvarman, appears to have continued in office under his son. The Mau inscription of the latter tells us that, 'having gradually reduced all princes to the state of dependence by applying the six expedients and so forth, each in due season, he made (the king's) sovereignty over the earth characterised by a single umbrella.'[1]

In the Candella grants the name of Paramardi is usually placed after that of Madanavarman, with the epithet *tatpādānudhyāta*. In some of the stone-inscriptions the names are so placed with the remark *athābhavat* (then came). From this it has been generally supposed that Madanavarman was immediately succeeded by Paramardi. But the introductory portion of the Baghari stone-inscription of the latter's reign mentions the name of Yaśovarman between Madanavarman and Paramardi. It is clear from this record that Yaśovarman was the son of the former and the father of the latter. It has been assumed that Yaśovarman predeceased his father.[2] But this inscription seems to describe him as having reigned. We are told :

"As the moon, the crest-jewel of Maheśvara (arose) from the ocean, so was born from him Yaśovarman, who was an ornament of great rulers (*Maheśvara-śiromaṇi*), causing joy to the people.

"Whose fame, spreading in the three worlds with the loveliness of the jasmine and the moon, made the hair (of men) appear white, and thus caused the unprecedented notion that people, before they had attained to old age, had, alas! turned grey."[3]

It is however significant that in the account of the ministers in the same inscription, the name of Yaśovarman is omitted. It would therefore seem that Yaśovarman may have had a very short tenure of power, after which he was succeeded by his son Paramardi. A hint of his untimely end is possibly contained in the second of the two verses quoted above. The absence

[1] *Ibid*, p. 206, V. 42.

[2] *IA*, 1896, p. 236, fn. 4; *ibid*, 1908, p. 130.

[3] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 212, Vs. 8-9.

of Yaśovarman's name from his son's grants may probably indicate that the son's accession to the throne was not entirely peaceful. Instances in history are not rare where a grandson has tried to supersede his father. If Khusrau failed in the 17th century,[1] Paramardi may have succeeded in the 12th.

Yaśovarman, if he reigned at all, must have been succeeded by his son Paramardi some time before V. S. 1223, the earliest recorded date of the latter. The following dates and records are known for the reign of Paramardi :

(1) *Semra grant.*—This was discovered 'at Semra, a village in the Bijawar state, Bundelkhand Agency, C.I., and 9 miles west of Shahgarh, a police station in the Sagar district of the C.P.' It consists of 124 lines, incised on three plates of copper. The middle plate alone is written on both sides. The plates are joined by a 'plain ring;' but at the top of the first plate there is a representation of Lakṣmī with four arms, seated on a lotus; above her shoulders stand two elephants with raised trunks. The language is mainly Sanskrit prose; but there are 'a good many Prākṛt or hybrid forms' in the names of the donees and the villages. The inscription begins with *Oṁ svasti*, and then traces the genealogy of the donor from the family of the *Candrātreya* princes, radiant through the appearance of such heroes as Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti. In that family was *Pb.-M.-P.*-Pṛthvīvarmadeva-*pādānudhyāta-Pb.-M.-P.*-Madanavarmadeva-*pādānudhyāta-Pb.-M.-P.-Paramamāheśvara-Kālañjarādhipati*-Paramardideva. Then follows a verse vaguely praising the donor's various good qualities. Next comes the main portion of the grant. We are told that the king when in the camp of Sonasara in (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1223 (A.D. 1165) confirmed a grant made by his grandfather (*pitāmaha*) in (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1219 (A.D. 1162) to 309 Brāhmans who had 'emigrated from various *bhaṭṭāgrahāras* and belonged to various *gotras* and *pravaras* and were students of various

[1] *Akbar the Great Mogul*, Oxford, 1917, pp. 321 ff.

Vedic *Śākhās*.' The following villages were granted to the donees:

(I) In the *Viṣaya* of Vikaura (mod. Beekore, 4-5 miles S. W. of Madanapura): (*a*) Khaṭauḍā-*dvādaśaka* (mod. Khutourea, S.E. of Beekore); (*b*) Tāṇṭa (?) -*dvādaśaka*; (*c*) *Hāṭāṣṭādaśaka*; (*d*) Sesāyī-*grāma* (mod. Sajee?, S.E. of Khutourea).

(II) In the *Viṣaya* of Dudhai (mod. place of the same name, N. Lat. 24°26′ and E. Long. 78°27′): (*a*) Pilikhiṇī-*pañcela*; (*b*) Iṭāva-*pañcela* (mod. Etawa, N. Lat. 24°12′ and E. Long. 78°16′).

(III) In the *Viṣaya* of Vaḍavāri (mod. Berwara, N. Lat. 24°30′ and E. Long. 78°41′): (*a*) Isarahara-*pañcela*; (*b*) Uladana (mod. Ooldana, 7 miles N. E. of Madanpur); (*c*) Kakaradaha.

Line 123 contains the king's signature. Then come the names of the writer, *Dharmalekhī* Pṛthvīdhara of the *Vāstavya vaṁśa*, and of the *pitalahāra* (brass-worker) Pālhaṇa, who incised it.[1]

(2) *Mahoba image-inscription.*—This is incised on the pedestal of a broken Jaina statue at Mahoba. The epigraph consists of 'one long line,' and is incomplete. It records the dedications of the image in (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1224 (A.D. 1168), in the *pravardhamāna-kalyāṇa-vijayarājya* of Paramardi-deva.[2]

(3) *Icchawar grant.*—This was found near the village of Icchawar, in the Pailani Tahsil of Banda district, U.P. It consists of 35 lines incised on one side of two plates of copper. It opens with the same genealogical details as in the Semra grant (No. 1), and records a gift by the king, from his residence

[1] Edited by Cartellieri in *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 153-70. The editor in two appendices has given a list of the names of the donees and their *gotras*; see *ibid*, pp. 170-74. The names are preceded by abbreviations of titles, such as '*Dvi*'=*dvivedin*, '*Tri*' or *Ti*=*Trivedin*.' Some of the titles, such as *Ṭhakkura*, are still found amongst Brāhmans; but *Rā* or *Rāuta*=*Rājaputra* as a title of the Brāhmans appears to be rare. The identifications of the places given above have been proposed by the editor. The grant is now in the Lucknow Museum.

[2] *ASR*, Vol. XXI, p. 74, plate XXIII, G.

at Vilāsapura, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1228 (1171 A.D.). The village granted was named Nandinī (mod. Nandandeo or Nundodeo, some 10 miles S.W. of Icchawar?), and was situated in the Nandāvana-*viṣaya*. The donee was the Brāhman *Senāpati* Madanapāla Śarman, son of the *Ṭhakkura* Maheśvara and grandson of the *Ṭhakkura* Bhonapāla, an immigrant from the *bhaṭṭāgrahāra* Naugāva. The writer of the *Śāsana* was the *Kāyastha* Pṛthvīdhara, probably the same person who wrote the Semra grant. The engraver was also the same as in No. (1) but in this plate he calls himself a *Śilpi*.[1]

(4) *Mahoba grant.*—This was discovered in the town of Mahoba (Hamirpur district, U.P.), in a stone chest about 30′ below the surface. It contains 33 lines incised on one side of two plates of copper. The plates were strung together by a ring having a seal, which is now broken. On the top of the first plate there is the usual figure of *Gaja-Lakṣmī*. The introductory portion of the grant is exactly the same as in Nos. (1) and (3). It records the grant of some 'land measuring 60 square *vādhas* cultivable by five ploughs' in the village of Dhanaura (mod. Dhanaura, 11 miles from Erich on the Betwa) in the *Viṣaya* of Eracha (mod. Erich on the Betwa, 60 miles from Mahoba) to the Brāhman Ratna Śarman, an immigrant from Phauḍiva(?)-*bhaṭṭāgrahāra*, by the *Candrātreya* king Paramardi, when he was resident at the village of Gahilū (mod. Gahuli, about 10 miles north of Dhanaura). The writer and engraver of the plate were the same as in Nos. (1) and (3). Pālhaṇa describes himself here as a *Vijñānin* (skilful artist). The date of the grant is (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1230 (A. D. 1173).[2]

(5) *Pachar grant.*—This is said to have been dug up in the village of Pachar, 12 miles N. E. of the city of Jhansi. The

[1] V. A. Smith and Hoey first gave an account of the contents of the grant with a photolithograph in the *JASB*, 1895, Vol. LXIV, Part I, pp. 155-58; properly edited by Kielhorn from the photolithograph in IA, Vol. XXV, pp. 205-08. The plates were the property of Dr. Hoey in 1896.

[2] Edited by Hiralal in *EI*, 1921-22, Vol. XVI, pp. 9-15.

inscription consists of 22 lines, incised on one side of a single plate. There is a ring-hole at the bottom of the plate, and at the top a 4-handed squatting figure of *Gaja-Lakṣmī*. The introductory portion of the grant is nearly the same as in Nos. (1), (3) and (4). It records a gift of some land in the village of Lauvā (mod. Lewa, 3 miles west of Pachar) in the *Viṣaya* of Karigavā (perhaps mod. Kargawan, 9 miles N. E. of Pachar) to the *paṇḍita* Keśava Śarman, an immigrant from Mutāuṣa *bhaṭṭāgrahāra*. The grant was made by the king when he was resident in Vilāsapura[1] (probably mod. village of Pachar) in (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1233 (A. D. 1176). The writer of the inscription was Subhānanda of the *Vāstavya-vaṁśa*. It was engraved by the same as in (3). He describes himself as *Vaidagdhī-Viśvakarmaṇā* (a master of art and craft), as in No. (3).[2].

(6) *Madanpur stone-inscriptions of Cāhamāna Pṛthvīrāja.*—These were discovered by Cunningham on the pillars of a *maṇḍapa* of an old temple in the village of Madanpur, 'situated at the mouth of the best and easiest pass leading from Sāgar to the north.' The village 'is 24 miles to the S. E. of Dudahi, 35 miles to the S.S.E. of Lalitpur and 30 miles to the north of Sāgar (Saugor).' The inscription informs us that *Jejāka-bhukti*, the country belonging to Paramardi, was devastated and plundered by Pṛthvīrāja in (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1239 (A. D. 1182-83).[3]

(7) *Kalinjar rock-inscription.*—From rubbings of the inscription Kielhorn gives us only one line, containing the date, in his 'List of Northern Inscriptions,' '*Śrīmat*-Paramarddi-[deva]-*vijayarājye* (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1240 (A. D. 1184).[4]

(8) *Mahoba stone-inscription.*—This was found in 1843 'in the fort wall placed upside down as a common building

[1] See above, inscription No. 3, p. 715.

[2] Edited by A. Venis, *ibid*, 1909-10, Vol. X, pp. 44-49. The plate is now in the Lucknow Museum.

[3] *ASR*, Vol. X, pp. 98-99, Vol. XXI, pp. 173-74; *ASI*, WC, 1904, p. 55.

[4] *EI*, Vol. V, Appendix, p. 26, No. 178. To my knowledge it has not yet been edited.

stone. It is broken at top and at both ends.' The original inscription consisted of 16 lines; but it is so much damaged that it is not till we reach the 11th that the first complete verse is found. The record refers to Suhila, born in the *Vāstavya* family, and probably mentions the building of a temple (*prāsāda*). The sculptor was Devarāja, son of Somarāja. The inscription is dated in (*V.*) *S.* 1240 (A. D. 1184), but in the preserved portion there is no mention of the king's name. It is reported that the epigraph contains the name 'of Nānika the founder of the Candel dynasty.'[1]

(9) *Ajaigarh stone-inscription.*—This contains 8 lines, incised on the jamb of the upper gate of the fort. It records that in (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1243 (A. D. 1187) *Rāut Śrī*-Sīhaḍa, son of *Rāut* Sāntana of the *Kṣatriya* caste (*jāti*) belonging to the village of Kotia, established a *Cautra* in the Jayapura-*durga* for all people. There is no king's name in the inscription.[2]

(10) *Baghari stone-inscription.*—This was originally found in Singhanpur-Baghari, near Mahoba. The stone on which it is incised 'is broken right through from top to bottom.' It consists of 24 lines, and is in Sanskrit verse throughout. The inscription begins with *Oṁ oṁ namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya.* Then follow two verses invoking Śauri (*Viṣṇu*). Next comes the usual genealogy of the *Candrātreya* kings beginning from Atri and the Moon down to Paramardi. The only interesting point is that this portion of the inscription alone mentioned Paramardi's father Jayavarman, and describes him as an 'ornament of great rulers.' Then we are given the genealogy of a

[1] *ASR*, Vol. XXI, p. 72; V. A. Smith, *PASB*, 1879, pp. 143-44. The inscription has not yet been edited.

[2] *ASR*, Vol. XXI, p. 50, plate XII, C. There is another inscription in the same place dated in (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1227 (A. D. 1171), which records the building of a *bauli* (well) on the road during a famine for (the use of) all people in the Jayapura-*durga* by *Rauta* Vera, a *Kṣatriya* (by caste). This inscription also does not mention the name of any king. Cunningham read the date of this epigraph as 1237, see his *ASR*, Vol. XXI, pp. 49-50; Kielhorn corrected it to 1227 in *EI*, Vol. V, *Appendix*, p. 23, No. 157 and fn. 1. The letter 3 on the plate XII, A, however seems to support Cunningham's reading.

family of Brāhmans of the Vasiṣṭha *gotra* who served as officers of the Candella kings. The real founder of the line was Lakṣmīdhara, 'a swan sporting in the lake of all sciences.' His son was 'the chief of the twice-born' *dvijendra* Vatsarāja. His son Lāhaḍa served as a *mantri* of king Madana. By his wife Prabhā he had a son named Sallakṣaṇa, 'through whom Paramardi-deva has become a lord of the earth with three eyes.' His son was Puruṣottama, who when still a youth was appointed by the same king to be chief of his ministers (*saciveṣu mukhyabhāvaṁ*). The object of the inscription is to record that Sallakṣaṇa built a temple of Viṣṇu and another of Śiva. The second was left unfinished by him and was completed by his son Puruṣottama. The inscription was composed by the *Kavīndra* Devadhara, son of *Kavicakravarti* Gadādhara, the *Saṁdhāna-vigraha-mahā-saciva* of Paramardi, and grandson of *Gauḍānvayaikatilaka* Lakṣmīdhara. It is not impossible that this Lakṣmīdhara is identical with Lakṣmīdhara of the ministerial family. It was written by the *Bāla-kavi* Dharmadhara, younger brother of Devadhara, and engraved by Mahārāja (?),' who rouses the admiration of all *Śilpis*' (artisans?). The inscription is dated in the last verse in the year of Vikrama counted by the wings (2), the faces of the three-eyed (*Pañcānana*), (5) and the Ādityas (12), *i.e.*, 1252 (A.D. 1195).[1]

(11) *Kalinjar stone-inscription.*—This is incised on a large black stone, inside the temple of Nilakaṇṭha at Kalinjar. It consists of 32 lines and opens with *Namaḥ Śivāya*. The first 24 lines 'contain only an eulogistic and glowing address to Siva and Pārvatī.' The remaining portions are devoted to the

[1] First noticed by Cunningham, *ASR*, Vol. XXI, p. 82, No. 53. It was then published by Hultzsch in *ZDMG*, Vol. XL, pp. 51-54. Next Kielhorn edited it in *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 207-14, under the name *Baleśvar stone inscription*. But in fn. 2, p. 207, he expressed the opinion that this inscription was possibly the same as the one noticed above by Cunningham as found on the bank of a lake at 'Bagbari.' In a note (fn. 1, p. [illegible], *JASB*, 189[illegible], Vol. XLIV, Part 1), V. A. Smith and Hoey confirmed this suspicion that the label attributing the stone to Baṭeśvar in the Agra district is wrong, and that there can be no doubt that it was really found at Baghari.

vague praise of Paramardi. In line 27 this prince is described as *Daśārṇādhinātha*. In line 28 he is called 'a guide in the mysteries of amorous and heroic sentiments' (*Śṛṅgāra-vīra-vratācārya*). Next we are told that king Paramardi 'himself *composed* with his innate faith this eulogy of Purāri (*Śiva*) It was written and inscribed by Padma, a favourite of king Paramardi, and his younger brother Deoka. The date of the inscription is Monday, the 10th Kārtika Sudi of (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1258 (*i.e.*, Monday, 8th October, A.D. 1201).[1]

(12) *Coins.*—Only one *dramma* (61·4 grains) of base gold has so far been discovered for his reign. It is of the usual Candella type, and is reported to have been discovered in Khajuraho.[2]

The distribution of these records shows that Paramardi's dominions extended over nearly the whole of the triangle which roughly indicated the territories of his father. The Candella inscriptions mention no political incidents in his reign. Tradition recorded in the *Pṛthvīrāj-Rāso* of Cand Bardāi[3] however informs us that he was on hostile terms with the famous Cāhamāna ruler Pṛthvīrāja. *The Mahobā-Khaṇḍa*[4] gives a detailed account of these struggles between the Cāhamānas and the Candellas. Though ably assisted by two famous heroes of the Banāphar clan, the brothers Alha and Udal, and by Jayaccandra (Jaicand), the Gāhaḍavāla ruler, Paramardi (Pararmāl, Parimāladeva), we are told, was severely defeated in a series of engagements by the Cāhamāna prince. The first battle was fought near

[1] The record was first published in *JASB*, 1848, Vol. XVII, pp. 313-17, as an appendix to Maisey's account of the antiquities of Kalinjar. In 1884-85, Cunningham noticed it in his *ASR*, Vol. XXI, pp. 37-38. He corrected the reading of the date which was given in the above account as *Saṁvat* 1298. Kielhorn gave the accurate date in the IA, Vol. XIX, p. 354, No. 152. I think *Daśārṇa* of this inscription should be taken as Western *Daśārṇa*, which is identified with Eastern Malwa (capital Bhilsa); *GDI*, p. 54. It was from this city that the Augasi grant of his father was issued. His Semra grant shows that he held territory close to Eastern Malwa.

[2] *JASB*, 1869, Part I, p. 30. *CCIM*, Vol. I, p. 253.

[3] Edited by Mohanlal Vishnulal Pandia and Syam Sundar Das, Benares, 1913.

[4] Pp. 2507-2616.

Sisargaḍh on the banks of the Pahuj, a tributary of the Sind.[1] According to Cand, Pṛthvīrāja (Prithirāj) then captured Mahoba, plundered Kālañjara, and left for Delhi, after placing the former place in charge of Pajjunrāj.

In its present state, the work of Cand certainly contains much unhistorical matter. But the authenticity of his account of the hostility between Pṛthvīrāja and Paramardi is borne out by the two Madanpur inscriptions referred to above (No. 6), which distinctly refer to the devastation of the territories of the latter by the former in about 1182-83 A.D. It is also not unlikely that Jayccandra may have really assisted the Candellas in their struggles, for the Mau inscription indicates friendly relations between Paramardi's grandfather and the Gāhaḍavālas. There is at present no definite means to find out how long the Cāhamānas retained their hold on the western portion of the Candella territory; but if the title *Daśārṇādhipati* given to Paramardi in one of his Kālinjar inscriptions is not a mere boast, he may have recovered a substantial portion of his territories some time before A.D. 1201. But before he could consolidate his position, his territories were again invaded by a more formidable foe. The *Tāj ul-Ma'āthir* of Ḥasan Niẓāmī (1205-17 A.D.) gives the following account of the conflict of Quṭb ud-Dīn Aibak with 'the accursed Parmār the Rai of Kālinjar.'

"In the year 599 H. (1202 A.D.), Kutub ud-Dīn proceeded to the investment of Kālinjar, on which expedition he was accompanied by Sāhib-Kirān, Shamsu-d-dīn Altamash.........'The accursed Parmār,' the Rāi of Kālinjar, fled into the fort after a desperate resistance in the field, and afterwards surrendered himself, and 'placed the collar of subjection,' round his neck, and, on his promise of allegiance, was admitted to the same favours as his ancestors had experienced from Mahmūd Subuktigīn, and engaged to make a payment of tribute and elephants, but he died a natural death before he could execute any of his engagements.

[1] *ASR*, Vol. II, p. 455; *IA*, 1908, p. 145, fn. 49.

ments. His Dīwān, or Mahtea, by name Aj Deo, was not disposed to surrender so easily as his master, and gave his enemies much trouble, until he was compelled to capitulate in consequence of a severe drought having dried up all the reservoirs of water in the forts. 'On Monday, the 20th of Rajab, the garrison, in an extreme state of weakness and distraction came out of the fort and by compulsion left their native place empty,' 'and the fort of Kalinjar which was celebrated throughout the world for being so strong as the wall of Alexander,' was taken. 'The temples were converted into mosques, and abodes of goodness, and the ejaculation of the bead-counters and the voices of the summoners to prayer ascended to the highest heaven, and the very name of idolatry was annihilated.' 'Fifty thousand men came under the collar of slavery and the plain became as pitch with Hindus.' Elephants and cattle, and countless arms also, became the spoil of the victors. 'The reins of victory were then directed towards Mahoba, and the government of Kālinjar was conferred on Hazabbaru-d-dīn Hasan Arnal.'[1]

The account of Firishta[2] agrees in essentials with that of Ḥasan Niẓāmī, and only differs in the manner of the Hindu prince's death. According to Firishta, when the Raja, being hard pressed, offered to submit to the Delhi Sultan, his minister 'who resolved to hold out without coming to terms, caused his master to be assassinated, while the presents were preparing.' But as the contemporary *Tāj ul-Ma'āthir* distinctly says that Parmār (Paramardi) died a natural death, we are perhaps justified in rejecting the testimony of Firishta as a later fabrication.[3] According to both Ḥasan Niẓāmī and Firishta, after the

[1] *Elliot*, Vol. II, pp. 231-32. In the MS. of the work in the London School of Oriental Studies (W. 18967) the name of the king is not mentioned. It says "but during the negotiations by the heavenly decrees and the conjunction of the stars, the soul bird of that accursed fell into the snare of death." The Diwān's office is spelt as مهي (in Elliot مهتي) and his name as اخديو (in Elliot اجديو)

[2] Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, p. 197.

[3] According to the *Pṛthvīrāj-Rāso* 'Parmal after his defeat by Rājā Pṛthirāj, retired to Gaya, and died there;' see *JASB*, 1881, Part I, p. 29.

fall of Kalinjar Quṭb ud-Dīn marched to Mahoba and 'subdued' it. From the fact that the latter authority describes Mahoba as 'the capital of the principality of Kālpī (کالپی), it may probably be concluded that that city and the surrounding regions were no longer a part of the Candella dominions.

According to the *Pṛthvīrāj-Rāso*, Samarjit, a son of Parmāl, with the help of Narsiṁha, an officer of Rājā Jaicand of Kanauj captured Mahoba from Pajjun Rāy, the *Thānāpati* of Pṛthvīrāja, and ruled over the whole territory between Kalinjar and Gaya. He was ultimately killed by Bīnae ud-Dīn, a Musalman.[1] It has been suggested that the name Bīnae ud-Dīn may be a mistake for Bahā-ud-Dīn (Tughril) who was placed in charge of Bayana in 1196 A.D. by Muḥammad Ghūrī.[2] According to Raverty, this officer became for some time the head of an independent state in Central India after the death of Quṭb ud-Dīn in 1220 A.D.[3] It is very doubtful whether there is any basis of fact in these exploits of Samarjit. The genealogical lists in the Candella inscriptions do not contain the name of this son of Paramardi. On the contrary, they seem to mention Trailokyavarman as his immediate successor. The recently discovered Garra grant describes Trailokyavarman as meditating on the feet of Paramardi; and as its date (V. S. 1261 = A.D. 1205) is only removed from the death of Paramardi (599 A.H. =A.D. 1202) by a short period of 3 years, it is likely that he directly succeeded his father. The distribution of the find-spots of his inscriptions also appears to support this conclusion. The following dates and records are referred to his reign :

(1) *Garra grant* (*a*).—This was 'found in a tank near the village of Garra, to the south-east of Chattarpur, capital of the Indian state of the same name in Bundelkhund.' It consists of 16 lines, incised on one side of a single plate. There is a small

[1] *JASB*, 1881, Part I, pp. 29-31. Binae ud-Din is probably بنا الدين (Bina' ud-Din).

[2] *TF*, Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, p. 195; *IA*, 1908, p. 145, fn. 50.

[3] *NA*, p. 572.

ring-hole at the top of the plate and below this is engraved 'a seated figure of the goddess *Lakṣmī* with four arms, the upper two holding lotuses.' The inscription begins with *Oṁ svasti*, and then follows the genealogy of the donor from the lineage of the *Candrātreya* sovereigns, 'resplendent with the birth of Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti.' In that family was *Pb.-M.-P.*-Madanavarmadeva-*pādānudhyāta-Pb.-M.-P.*-Paramardideva-*pādānudhyāta-Pb.- M.- P.-Paramamāheśvara Kālañjarādhipati*-Trailokyavarmadeva. In lines 7-11 the grant records the gift by way of maintenance for death (*mṛtyuka-vṛttau...*) of Kādohā-*grāma* (mod. Kadoa in N. Lat. 24°48′ and E. Long. 79°52′ just south of Garra, in Chhatarpur State), in the *Viṣaya* of Paniuli (possibly mod. Panna, in N. Lat. 24°43′ and E. Long. 80°16′, capital of the Indian State of the same name) in (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1261 (A. D. 1205) to *Rāūta* Sāmanta (or Sāvanta) of the Bhāradvāja *gotra*, son of *Rāūta* Pāpe, who was killed at Kakaḍādaha,[1] in a battle with the Turuṣkas (Turks). The grant was made by the king when he was encamped at the village of Vaḍavāḍa (mod. Bedwara in N. Lat. 24°30′ and E. Long. 78°41′ in Lalitpur subdivision of Jhansi district).[2]

(2) *Garra grant* (*b*).—This inscription was found with (1). It contains 17 lines and is 'almost identical' with the above. It grants to the same donee the village of Lohasihāṇi (may be mod. Lohāni in the Bijawar State, in N. Lat. 24°23′ and E. Long. 79°12′), in the *Viṣaya* of Vikrauni(?). The donor, year of the grant and the object of the gift are the same.[3]

[1] Mod. Kakaḍwa in N. Lat. 24°28′ and E. Long. 78°42′, a little to the S. E. of Bedwara.

[2] Edited by K. N. Dikshit in *EI*, 1921-22, Vol. XVI, pp. 272-77. The grant is now in Lucknow Museum. Is the donee of the grant the same Sāvanta who acquired the Rewah grant (*a*)? See *infra*, p. 725, inscription No. (4). Kakaḍādaha of our plate again seems to be the same as Kakaradaha of the Semra grant of Paramardi. Dr. Barnett suggests that *Mṛtyuka vṛtti* is a grant to maintain the heirs of one who has sacrificed his life, which in Kanarese is styled *nettar-goḍage*, 'blood-gift.'

[3] *Ibid*, now in the Lucknow Museum.

(3) *Ajaigarh stone-inscription.*—This was found near the tank of Patal-sar at Ajaigarh. It consists of 6 lines, and gives the date (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1269 (A.D. 1212), in the reign of *Rāja-Śrī* Trailokyavarma-deva.[1]

(4) *Rewa grant* (*a*).—This was found in 1884-85 in the possession of the Rewa Durbar. It contains 55 lines, 'on two plates of which the first is inscribed on one side only.' There is no ring-hole or emblem engraved on the plates. The inscription begins with *Oṁ siddhiḥ,* followed by 3 verses in honour of Brahman, Puruṣottama (Viṣṇu) and Tryambaka (Śiva) of which the last is taken from the introduction to Bāṇa's *Kādambarī.* In lines 4-7 we have: *Pb.-M.-P.-Paramamāheśvara*-Vāmadeva *pādānudhyāta-Pb.-M.-P.-Paramamāheśvara-Tṛkaliṅgādhipati-nija-bhujo- pārjita- Aśvapati-gajapati - narapati- rājatrayādhipati-* Trailokyavarmadeva-*kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājye.* In lines 7-28 we are given the following genealogy of the *Mahārāṇaka* Kumārapāla of the town of Kakareḍikā[2] of the Kaurava-*vaṁśa.*

In the abovementioned town and family:

(i) *Paramamāheśvara-Mahārāṇaka-Dāhilla.*

(ii) *Rājyapāla* Durjaya
|
(iii) *Mahārāṇaka* Shojavarman[3]
|
(iv) *Śivapadānurakta* ,, Jayavarman
|
(v) ,, Vatsarāja
|
(vi) ,, Salasaṇavarman (*i.e.* Sallakṣaṇa)
|
(vii) ,, Harirāja
|
(viii) ,, Kumārapāla.

In lines 28-36 Kumārapāla who 'it may be assumed, owed allegiance to Trailokyavarman,' grants the village of Rehi in the

[1] Noticed by Cunningham in his *ASR*, Vol. XXI, p. 50, and plate XII, D. It has not yet been edited.

[2] Mod. Kakreri in N. Lat. 24°56′ and E. Long. 81°17′ at the head of the Mamani Ghat leading westwards towards Banda, Kalinjar and Mahoba.

[3] Dr. Barnett suggests Bhojavarman.

Vadharā-*Pattalā* to *Rāūta* Sāṅge and 5 other *Rāūtas* (names given). The date of the grant is (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1297 (A.D.1240). The *tāmraka* was drawn up by the *Kāyastha* Muktasiṁha, 'by whom the reign of the child-prince was made a prosperous one and his fame spotless.' It was written by Mālādhara, engraved by the *Śilpis* Jayasiṁha and Pratāpasiṁha, and acquired (*upārjitāṁ*) by *Rāūta* Sāvanta.[1]

(5) *Rewa grant* (*b*).—This was found with the inscription No. (4) in the possession of the Rewa Durbar. The number and arrangement of the plates are the same. It contains 48 lines, and begins with the same verses in honour of the same gods. In lines 4-5 it refers itself to the victorious reign of *Parama-bhaṭṭāraketyādi-rājāvalī-tray-opeta-mahārāja Śrī-Trelākyamalla* (Trailokyamalla). In lines 5-18 the inscription gives the same genealogical list of the *Mahārāṇakas* of Kakareḍikā from Dhāhilla to Vatsarāja. Lines 18-29 furnish the following additional details:

(*v*) *Mahārāṇaka*-Vatsarāja

(*vi*) *Mahārāṇaka*-Kīrtivarman | (*viii*) *Mahārāṇaka*-Salaṣaṇavarman.

(*viii*) *Mahārāṇaka*-Vāhadavarman | (*ix*) *Mahārāṇaka*-Harirāja.

In lines 29-36 No. (*ix*) records the grant of the village of Agaseyi, in the Vadharā-*pattalā* to the *Rāūta* Sāṅge and four other *Rāūtas* (names given) in (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1298 (A.D.1241). In lines 45-48 we are told that the *tāmraka* was written by the

[1] This grant, together with 8 other Rewah copperplates were noticed by Cunningham in his *ASR*, Vol. XXI, pp. 142-48. They are denoted by him by the letters A, B, C and D. This grant is marked by the letter C. Kielhorn next edited it in the *IA*, Vol. XVII, pp. 224 and 230-34. Following Cunningham, Kielhorn rightly identified the Trailokyavarman of this grant with the Candella prince of that name. As the name Vāmadeva first occurs in the two Kalacuri grants (A and B) dated in A.D. 1175 and 1195, and has been simply transferred to the Candella plate, together with the titles of the Cedi princes, we shall discuss the question of its appearance in our chapter on the Haihayas (Kalacuris), see *infra*.

Karaṇika Ṭhakkura Udayasiṁha, born in the family of *Mahāṭhakkura* Dhāreśvara and engraved by the son of Kūkeṁ and the grandson of Dāṅge the worker in iron (*ayaskāra*).[1]

These inscriptions show that 'the history of the Candel dynasty as one of the powers of Northern India' did not end with the death of Paramardi.[2] The Garra grants show that his son Trailokyavarman was in possession of villages and townships which were scattered all over the region now occupied by the States of Chhatarpur, Bijawar, and Panna in C. I., and the Lalitpur sub-division of Jhansi district, U.P. It is not unlikely that in the battle with the Turuṣkas at Kakaḍādaha, in which the father of the donee of the Garra grants lost his life, Trailokyavarman proved victorious and recovered his 'ancestral stronghold of Kālañjara.' That his assumption of the title of *Kālañjarādhipati* was not an idle boast like that of the Kalacuris of Kalyani,[3] is perhaps indicated by the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*. We are told by this authority that Malik Nuṣrat ud-Dīn Tāī-shī was entrusted with the charge of 'Bhīānah and Sulṭān-Koṭ...together with the superintendency (شحنگی) of Gwāliyūr' by 'Sulṭān I-yal-timish.' 'In the year 631 H. (A.D. 1233) he accordingly led an army from Gwāliyūr towards the Kālinjar country, and the Rāe of Kālinjar fled discomfited before him. He plundered the townships of that territory, and in a very short period, obtained vast booty in such wise that in the space of fifty days, the Sultan's fifth share was set down

[1] This inscription was noticed by Cunningham in his *ASR*, Vol. XXI, p 148, C. Kielhorn next edited it in the *IA*, Vol. XVII, pp. 224 and 234-36. As the date of this grant is only one year later than inscription No. (4), he, following Cunningham, rightly identified Trailokyamalla of these plates with the Trailokyavarman of No. (4). The names of the donees with one exception are the same in both the grants. The name of the *pattalā* in which the villages granted in the two grants were situated, is also the same.

[2] *IA*, 1908, p. 146. In the *CHI*, Vol. III, p. 514, Sir W. Haig following V. A. Smith, says: 'After the death of Paramardi, the Candels, as an important dynasty disappeared, and the tribes dispersed, etc......'

[3] *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 469.

at twenty-five *lakhs*.'[1] There is possibly some exaggeration in this account of Tāī-shī's success against the 'Rāe of Kālinjar,' but the fact remains that that fort and the surrounding country had again passed under the control of the Hindu chiefs. As the dates on the inscriptions of Trailokyavarman range from 1205 to 1241 A.D., it is almost certain that the 'Rāe of Kālinjar' defeated by Tāī-shī was this Candella prince. At present there is no means of knowing the exact date when the fort was lost by the Sultans of Delhi. It must have passed into Hindu possession some time between 1203 and 1233. It is possible that Trailokyavarman may have recovered Kālañjara soon after the battle of Kakaḍādaha, which was fought some time before 1205 A. D.

In connection with his success in stemming the tide of Musalman invasions in Jejāka-bhukti, it is interesting to notice that the Ajaigarh stone-inscription of Vīravarman (*V. S.* 1317-A. D. 1261) compares Trailokyavarman with Viṣṇu, 'in lifting up the earth immersed in the ocean formed by the streams of the Turuṣkas.'[2] Both the Musalman and Hindu records are silent about the details of this struggle. But the fact that the above-mentioned inscription calls Trailokyavarman 'a very creator in providing strong places' (*durggapravidhāna-vedhāḥ*) may possibly contain a hint of the system of warfare followed by the Candella prince.[3]

The Rewa grants (Nos. 4 and 5) show that the Candella power in the west not only held its own in Baghelkhand, but had extended itself at the expense of the Kalacuris. I have already suggested that the discovery of the Panwar hoard of coins of Madanavarman probably indicates an extension of Candella power

[1] Trans. by Raverty, Vol. I, pp. 732-33. The facts contained in this passage were known to Cunningham. (*ASR*, Vol. XXI, p. 87); but he did not indicate his source of information. On the Turkish title *Tāi-shī*, which is sometimes written *Tā-Yasa'ī*, see *ibid*, Raverty's note in his 'Additional Notes and Emendations,' P. LIV, on p. 683.

[2] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 329, V. 7.

[3] *Ibid*.

into that portion of Baghelkhand which lies to the north of the Kaimur Range. But the two Rewa grants of the time of Kalacuri Jayasiṁha and Vijayadeva dated in (Cedi) *Saṁvat* 926 (A.D. 1175) and (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1253 (A. D. 1195)[1] show that some portion of this region had again passed under the control of the Kalacuris. The *Mahārāṇakas* Kīrtivarman and his brother Salaṣaṇavarman of Kakkareḍikā appear in the two above grants as feudatories of the Kalacuri princes Jayasiṁha (*c.* 1175-77 A. D.) and his son Vijayasiṁha (*c.* 1180-95 A. D.). It is not unlikely therefore that during the disastrous reign of Paramardi (*c.* 1167-1202 A. D.) the Kalacuris wrested the control of the Trans-Kaimur region from the Candellas. If this was so the Rewa grants of the time of Trailokyavarman show that he succeeded in regaining this region some time before 1239.[2] There is therefore ample evidence to indicate that Trailokyavarman was not a mere petty local chieftain of Ajaigarh. His rule appears to have extended from the river Betwa, on the west of Lalitpur, to the upper courses of the Son in the east. It is difficult to know how far his authority extended in the north. But the discovery of his copper *dramma* in the Banda district may possibly supply some indication on the point. Gold *drammas* of Trailokyavarman are also known, but their find-spots are unfortunately not recorded.[3] In the south his territory may have extended up to 24° Latitude. The Garra plates record grants of land some of which are situated not very far from that region.

[1] *IA*, Vol. XVII, pp. 224-30.

[2] A puzzling fact about the two Rewa grants of Trailokyavarman is that while the inscription of Kumārapāla is dated in 1240, that of his father Harirāja is dated in 1241 A. D. The grant of the son however shows that his father was already a *Mahārāṇaka* before 1240. The difficulty is probably to be solved by the assumption that Kumārapāla when still a child was made king through the machinations of the *Kāyastha* Muktasiṁha, who poses as a king-maker in the grant of Kumārapāla. Harirāja had to abdicate but before long he succeeded in recovering his throne from his child-son. The abdication of the Kashmirian king Ananta in 1063 A. D., through the influence of his wife Sūryamatī, in favour of her son Kalaśa and the resumption of the regal functions by Ananta shortly after Kalaśa's coronation may serve as a parallel incident in the history of this period. See *DHNI*, Vol. I, *Dynastic History of Kashmir*, pp. 142 ff.

[3] *IA*, 1908, p. 148; *CCIM*, p. 253.

Trailokyavarman ruled for at least 36 years (*c.* 1205-41 A. D.). But as his earliest date is separated only by 3 years from the death of his father, and as the distribution of his records shows that he ruled practically over the whole of the Candella territories, it is very likely that his reign began from the death of his father in 1202 A. D. In that case Cand's Samarjit must be regarded as a figment of imagination.

The Ajaigarh rock-inscription of the time of Bhojavarman mention the names of some of the officers of Trailokyavarman.[1] One of these was Vāśe or Vāśeka, of the *Vāstavya* Kāyastha family, who was appointed *Viśiṣa*[2] of Jayadurga, and endowed with the village of Varbhari by Trailokyavarman. In V. 19 of this record we are told that 'the wise Vāśeka, being to the armies of the opposing chiefs what a forest-fire is to the brushwood, sent the irresistible Bhojuka, who, seized with frenzy of war, was rending the kingdom in two, in battle to the abode of death, and thus made Trailokyavarman again the ornament of princely families.' V. 22 of the same record tells us that Ānanda, Vāśeka's younger brother, was appointed governor of the fort (of Jayadurga) and 'reduced to submission the wild tribes of the Bhillas, Śabaras and Pulindas.' Probably Trailokyavarman owed to these two officers much of his success against internal and external foes.

Trailokyavarman was succeeded by his son Vīravarman[3] some time after V. S. 1298 (A. D. 1241), and before V. S. 1317 (A.D. 1261), the first recorded date of his son. There is some evidence to show that he may have continued to rule even up to 1247 A.D. The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri* refers to a Rāna (رانهٔ برد) who was called *Dalakī wa Malakī* (دلكي و ملكى), who ruled in the mountainous tract not far from Kara (Allahabad district, U. P.). 'He had many dependants, countless fighting men, great dominions and wealth, fortified places, and hills and defiles extremely difficult of access. We are told that in 645 A. H. (1247 A.D.),

[1] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 337. [2] *Vi + śiṣ* = to distinguish. [3] *Ibid*, p. 327, V. 8.

in the reign of Sulṭān Nāṣir ud-Din, Ulugh Khān ravaged all these territories and obtained great booty.[1] According to Firishta, this prince resided at Kalinjar. He had seized all the country to the south of the Jumna and had destroyed the king's garrisons from Malwa to Kara.'[2] It was observed by Briggs that there must be some mistake in the name *Dalakī wa Malakī*. Cunningham suggested that this name has 'been made out of the one long name, *Tilakī Wama Deo* (تلكي و مادیو) which in Persian characters might easily be mis-read as *Tilakī Wa Milakī* (تلكي و ملكي), and which may be further corrupted into *Dalaki Wa Malakī*.'[3] The strangeness of the name *Dalakī wa Malakī* and the fact that he lived in Kālañjara seem to indicate that Cunningham may be right in identifying him with the Candella Trailokyavarman. If his guess is accepted, the reign of Vīravarman could not have begun before 1247 A.D. The following dates and records are so far known for the reign of Vīravarman :

(1) *Ajaigarh rock-inscription.*—In 1883-85 Cunningham found this inscription 'engraved on a rock, with a crack dividing it into two portions' at Ajaigarh It contains 15 lines, and opens with *Oṁ oṁ siddhi.* Next follows a verse invoking *Gaṅgā.* Then comes a list of the later Candellas from Kīrtivarman down to Vīra(varman). Next follows the genealogy of Kalyaṇadevī, who became the chief queen of king Vīra.

In the Dadhici-*vaṁśa*
|
Cādala...'an object of reverence for the Kṣatriyas.'
|
Kṣitipāla Govindarāja — Śrīpāla...'who was bravery as it were incarnate.'
| |
Vesaladevī (?) = Maheśvara...'revered even by the crowned heads...valiant like a bull.'
|
Kalyāṇadevī = King Vīra.

[1] Trans. by Raverty, Vol. I, pp. 680-83, and fn. 9 on p. 680 and no. 5 on p. 682. *Elliot*, Vol. II, p. 348.

[2] Trans. by Briggs, Vol. I, p. 287. Raverty has pointed out that Briggs' Translation is defective here. Firishta "does not mention anything whatever of *two* rājahs, as rendered by Briggs, "the Rājahs Dulky and Mulky"; but on the other hand 'a rājah'; see also *Elliot* Vol. II, p. 348, fn. 1.

[3] *ASR*, Vol. I, p. 457.

The object of the inscription is to record (Vs. 18-20) that this Kalyāṇadevī built a well with perennial water (*nirjara-kūpa*) at 'this spot' which is 'guarded by the arms of strong men (?), a hall for the supply of its water (?) and a tank at Nāndīpura. The *praśasti* was composed by Ratnapāla, son of *Kavi* Haripāla, and engraved by Rāma in the *Vikrama vatsara* 'measured by the seas (7), the moon (1),' the fires (3) and the moon (1), *i.e.* V.S. 1317. In the last line we are told that the inscription was made in (*V.*) *S.* 1317 (A.D. 1261), during the office of (*vyāpāre*) Jetana in the reign of Vīravarman.[1]

(2) *Jhansi stone-inscription.*—Kielhorn noticed this inscription from a rubbing supplied by Burgess. It is dated, in line 19, (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1318 (A.D. 1262), and belongs to the reign of Candella Vīravarman (?).[2]

(3) *Ajaigarh stone-inscription.*—This consists of only 3 lines, incised on the wall of a temple at Ajaigarh. It records the 'adoration to Iśvara of one Abhayadeva, the son of *Aśvavaidya Thaḥ* Bhojūka in the reign of Vīravarman, in (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1325 (A.D. 1268).[3]

(4) *Ajaigarh rock-inscription.*—This consists of 21 lines incised on a 'rock near the figure of a Ganes.' According to Cunningham 'this inscription gives the genealogy of the Candella Rajas from Kirtti Varmma down to Vira Varmma.' It is dated both in words [sea (7), fire (3), Veda (3) and moon (1)] and in figures in 1337 (*V.*) *Saṁvat* (A. D. 1281). 'The

[1] The inscription was first noticed by Cunningham, *ASR*, Vol. XXI, p. 51, plate XIII. The 'substance of the inscription as read by a Simla Pandit' gives the date wrongly as S. 1312. The record was properly edited by Kielhorn in *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 325-30. This scholar took Nāndīpura of this inscription to be another name of Jayadurga or Ajaigarh. Cunningham suggested that the *Kṣitipāla* Govindarāja, the maternal grandfather of Kalyāṇadevi 'may perhaps have been the Raja of Nalapura, or Narwar, the predecessor of the famous Chāhaḍadeva, the gallant opponent of the Mahomedans.'

[2] *EI*, Vol. V, *Appendix*, p. 33, No. 227. It has not yet been edited. It is now in the Lucknow Museum.

[3] *ASR*, Vol. XXI, p. 51, plate XIV. F. Kielhorn has suggested the identification of this Bhojūka with the Bhojūka who was killed by Vāśeka in the reign of Trailokyavarman, see *EI*, Vol. I, p. 333; also *DHNI*, *supra*, p. 729.

inscription as explained by a Simla Pandit, records the setting up of a statue of Vināyaka (Ganesa) by Gaṇapati, the minister of Vira Varmma.'[1]

(5) *Dahi grant.*—This copper-plate was discovered in Dahi '4½ miles to the east of Bijawar in Bundelkhand.' The grant in its formal portion opens with the usual praise of the family of 'the *Candrātreya* princes rendered illustrious by Jayaśakti, Vijayaśakti and others.' Then it traces the genealogy of the donor from Madanavarman downwards. It next records the gift of the village of Dahi to Mallāya, 'an illustrious chief of distinguished bravery in (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1237 (A.D. 1281).' The donee is said to have conquered the lord of Narwar (*Nalapura-pati*), Gopāla the ruler of Mathurā (*Madhuvanakādhipa* ?) and Harirāja of Gwalior (Gopagiri).[2]

(6) *Gurha Sati stone-inscription.*—This is dated in line 1 in (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1342 (A.D. 1286) in the reign of Vīravarma-deva.[3]

(7) *Kalinjar stone-inscription.*—This fragmentary epigraph seems to give the Candella genealogy from Vijayapāla to Vīravarman. In *V.* 25 it seems to record the construction of various temples, gardens, and ponds by the latter.[4]

[1] *Ibid*, p. 52, plate XIV, G. The inscription has not yet been edited properly. In including this record in the list of northern inscriptions, Kielhorn has placed a ? after the name of Vīravarman : see *EI*, Vol V, Appendix, p. 34, No. 239.

[2] *ASR*, Vol. XXI, pp. 74-76. It has never been properly edited. It was obtained by Col. Ellis in 1848 from Dahi, but now its whereabouts are unknown.

[3] Noticed by Kielborn, *ibid*, p. 35, No. 242. Gurha is probably the capital of the petty State of that name in the C. I. Agency under the Resident at Gwalior.

[4] This inscription was first published in 1848, in *JASB*, Vol. XVII, Part I, pp 817-20, as an appendix to Maisey's account of the antiquities of Kalinjar. It was then noticed by Cunningham in his *ASR*, Vol. XXI. p. 39. It has not yet been properly edited. Kielhorn noticed another Kalinjar inscription from rubbings supplied by Burgess in *EI*, Vol. V, *Appendix*, p. 35, No. 241. In line 3 it gives the date (*V.*) *Saṁ*. 1340 (A.D. 1283); but unfortunately it does not mention the name of the king. Cunningham noticed another stone-inscription at Ajaigarh, which is dated in 1372 *V.S.* (1315 A.D.) in the reign of Vīravarman. As the earliest inscription of the successor of Vīravarman is dated in *V.S.* 1345, he assumed the existence of a second king of that name. But it is more likely that there is some mistake in the reading of the date or the name of the king; see *ASR*, Vol. XXI, p. 64.

The distribution of these records show that Vīravarman was still the ruler of a considerable portion of his ancestral territories. The known dates of his records extend over a period of at least 25 years (A.D. 1261-1286), and as the Muhammadan chronicles at this time claim no decisive victories over the chiefs of Bundelkhand, it is likely that he was left in comparatively undisturbed possession of his territories. The Gurha inscription shows his hold over the land between the Sindh and the Betwa, and it is not impossible that he may have even come into conflict with the petty Hindu rulers of Narwar, Gwalior, and Muttra (?). A gold dramma of this king, which is unique, was discovered in Khajraho.[1]

Vīravarman was probably succeeded by Bhojavarman some time before *V. S.* 1365 (A D. 1288). The following records and coins are referred to his reign :

(1) *Ajaigarh rock inscription.*—This consists of 16 lines, incised on a rock near the 'Tarhaoni' or 'Tirhawan' gate of the fort of Ajaigarh. The record opens with *Oṁ namaḥ Kedārāya*; then follows a verse in adoration of Śiva. It then praised the *Vāstavya* Kāyasthas of the town of Takkārikā. Various persons of this family served under the Candella kings. One of these, Vāśe, was appointed *Viśiṣa* of Jayapura by king Trailokya-varman.[2] His younger brother Ānanda had a son named Rucira. Rucira had 3 sons, *viz.*, Gopati, Mahīpāla, and Subhaṭa of whom the last was a *Sacira* and the Superintendent of treasury (*Kośādhikārādhipati*) of king Bhojavarman. The immediate object of the inscription is to record the construction of a temple (*derālaya*) by Subhaṭa. 'The inscription closes rather abruptly and it neither contains the names of the composer, writer, and engraver, nor is it dated.'[3]

(2) *Ajaigarh stone-inscription.*—This opens with verses

[1] Described by Hoernle in *JASB*, 1889, Vol. LVIII, Part I, p. 34. See also *CCIM*, Vol. I, p. 254.

[2] See *DHNI*, *supra*, p. 729.

[3] Edited by Kielborn in *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 330-38.

invoking Viṣṇu under various names, such as Murāri, Hari, Mādhava, Rāma, etc. In V. 24 one Nāna is said to have served as *Saciva* of the *Candrātreya* kings. In V. 25 he is mentioned as serving king Bhojavarman. The inscription was composed by Amara, and appears to record that this Nāna, 'caused an image of Hari to be placed at the celebrated fort of Jayadurga (Ajaigarh).' The date (*V.*) *S*. 1345 (A.D. 1288) is given in V. 37.[1]

It seems reasonable to conclude from these two inscriptions that Bhojavarman succeeded Vīravarman at least in the territory around the fort of Ajaigarh. There is however some reason to believe that the Candellas continued in possession of Kalinjar till the 16th century. Recently Rai Bahadur Hiralal drew attention to a *Satī* record in the village of Bamhni of the Damoh district, C.P. It runs as follows: *Paramabhe-ṭārakeṇādhirājavalītrayopeta Kāliñjarādhipati Śrimad*-Hammīravarma-devaḥ *vijayarājye Saṁvat* 1365 *samaye Mahāraja-putra Śri*-Vāghadeva *bhujyamāne*.........[2] This record shows that about A.D. 1308, portions of Damoh and Jubbulpore districts were governed by a *Mahārājaputra*, Vāghadeva, under the sovereignty of Hammīradeva. Two other *Satī* records of the time of Vāghadeva are known, dated in (*V.*)*S*. 1361 and 1362.[3] In the former, which was discovered in Patan, in Jubbulpore district, he is described as a Pratihāra chief. It is quite likely that this Hammīradeva was a Candella and a successor of Bhojavarman. If this is accepted, the Candellas in the beginning of the 14th century were still the rulers of a considerable portion of their former dominions. But the discovery of a *Satī*-record at Salaiya, 3 miles from Bamhni, dated in (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1366 (A.D. 1309) in the reign of

[1] Edited by Prinsep in *JASB*, 1837, Vol. VI, Part I, pp. 881-87, plate XLVIII. The record is now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and ought to be properly edited.

[2] *EI*, Vol. XVI, p. 10, fn. 4. The writer of the inscription *Paṇ*[*ḍita*] Jaipāla apparently was no great Sanskrit scholar.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 11 and fns. 1 and 2.

Alayadīna Sutānā (Sultan 'Alā ud-Dīn)[1] shows that Vāghadeva's reign probably terminated between 1308 and 1309 A.D. The armies of 'Alā ud-Dīn were at this time marching to the Deccan, and he may have established a base in Bundelkhand, reducing the power of the Candellas to some of their inaccessible forts. Though the Muslims attacked the fort of Kalinjar several times during the period *c*. 1240-1540 A.D.,[2] there is no decisive evidence to show that the Candellas were permanently driven out of Kalinjar; and there may be some truth in the suggestion that Kirat Singh, the Raja of Kalinjar who opposed Sher Shah in 1544 in A.D., was a Candella.[3] The Candella princess Durgāvatī, who married Rājā Dalpat Sā of Garha-Mandla about the year 1545 A.D. and was killed in 1564 gallantly fighting against Akbar, may have been a daughter of this Kirat Rāi of Kalinjar.[4]

[1] *EI*, Vol. XVI, p. 11, fn. 2.

[2] *IGI*, Vol. XIV, 1908, p. 312; *CHI*, Vol. III, p. 247.

[3] *IA*, 1908, p. 146.

[4] According to tradition she was the daughter of the Candella ruler of Mahoba; but see *JASB*, 1881, Vol. L, p. 32. Was the full name of Kirat Rai, Kīrti[varman]?

GENEALOGICAL TABLE.

(Dates Approximate.)

Nannuka (*c*. A.D. 831) *alias* Chandravarman (?)
Vākpati

Jayaśakti, *alias* Jejjaka and Jejā

Vijayśakti, *alias* Vijaya, Vijjā and Vijā
Rāhila
Harṣa = Kañcukā
Yaśovarman, *alias* Lakṣavarman

Dhaṅga (A.D. 954, 955, 998, 1002)
Gaṇḍa
Vidyādhara (A.D. 1019)
Vijayapāla = Bhubanadevī

Kṛṣṇapa = Asarvā
Devalabdhi

Devavarman (A.D. 1051)

Kirtivarman (A.D. 1098)

Sallakṣaṇavarman
Jayavarman (A.D. 1117)

Prithvīvarman

Madanavarman (A.D. 1129, 1130, 1131, 1134, 1148, 1151, 1155, 1158, 1162, 1163)

Pratāpa

Yaśovarman II
Paramardi (A.D. 1167, 1168, 1171, 1173, 1176, 1183, 1184, 1195, 1201, 1202)
Trailokyavarman (A.D. 1205, 1212, 1240, 1241, 1247 ?)
Vīravarman = Kalyāṇadevī (A.D. 1261, 1262, 1268, 1281, 1286)
Bhojavarman (A.D. 1288)
Hammiravarman (A.D. 1308)
Kirat Rāi (? Kirtivarman II) (A.D. 1544)
Durgāvatī = Dalpat of Garha Mandala (A.D. 1545-64).

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CHAPTER XII

HAIHAYAS OF THE UNITED AND CENTRAL PROVINCES

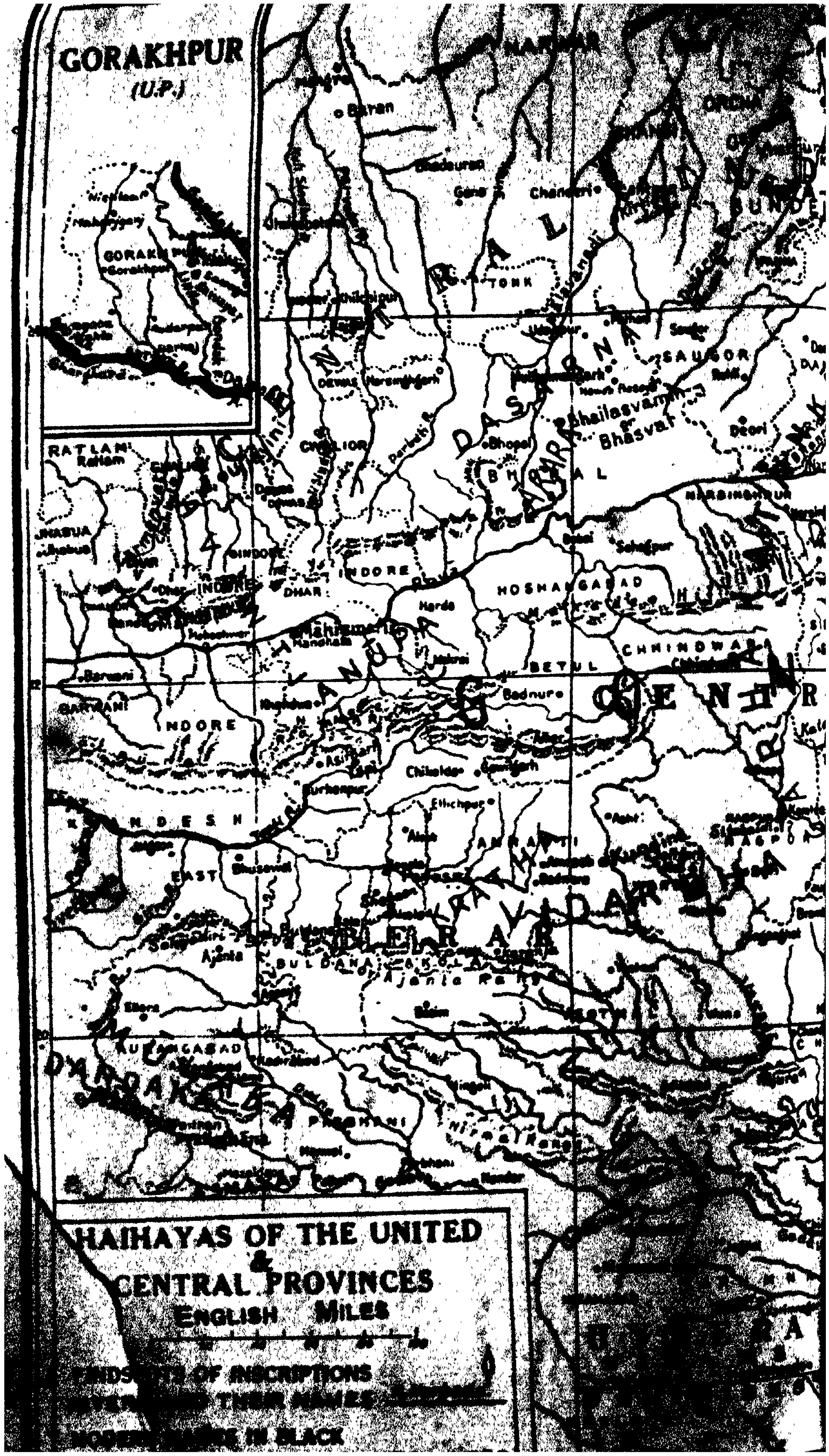
The Haihayas[1] according to Epic and Purāṇic tradition, were descendants of Sahasrajit, a son of Yadu and grandson of Yayāti. The name of the family is derived from Haihaya, the grandson of Sahasrajit. Their capital was situated in Māhiṣmatī (mod. Mandhata on the Narbada, Nimar District, C. P.), named after Mahiṣmant, a descendant of Haihaya. The greatest king of this line was Arjuna Kārtavīrya, who is called both a *Samrāj* and a *Cakravartin*. The next important king of this race was Tālajaṅgha, who had many sons, called the Tālajaṅghas. The *Purāṇas* mention five different groups of Haihayas, *viz.*, the Vītihotras, Śāryātas, Bhojas, Avantis, and Tuṇḍikeras, who were all Tālajaṅghas.[2] The Indian inscriptions reveal the existence of some other branches of this line. Thus the Ārjunāyanas, who did homage to the Gupta king Samudragupta, may have claimed descent from the Haihaya Arjuna.[3] But the most important line that claimed such descent was certainly the Kalacuris,[4] whose name appear in records from at least the 6th century A.D. down to the 15th century. We have seen that Epic and Purāṇic tradition connects the Haihayas

[1] The inscriptions supply a variant of this name, *Ahihaya*; see *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 268 ff.; *ibid*, Vol. II, pp. 229 ff.

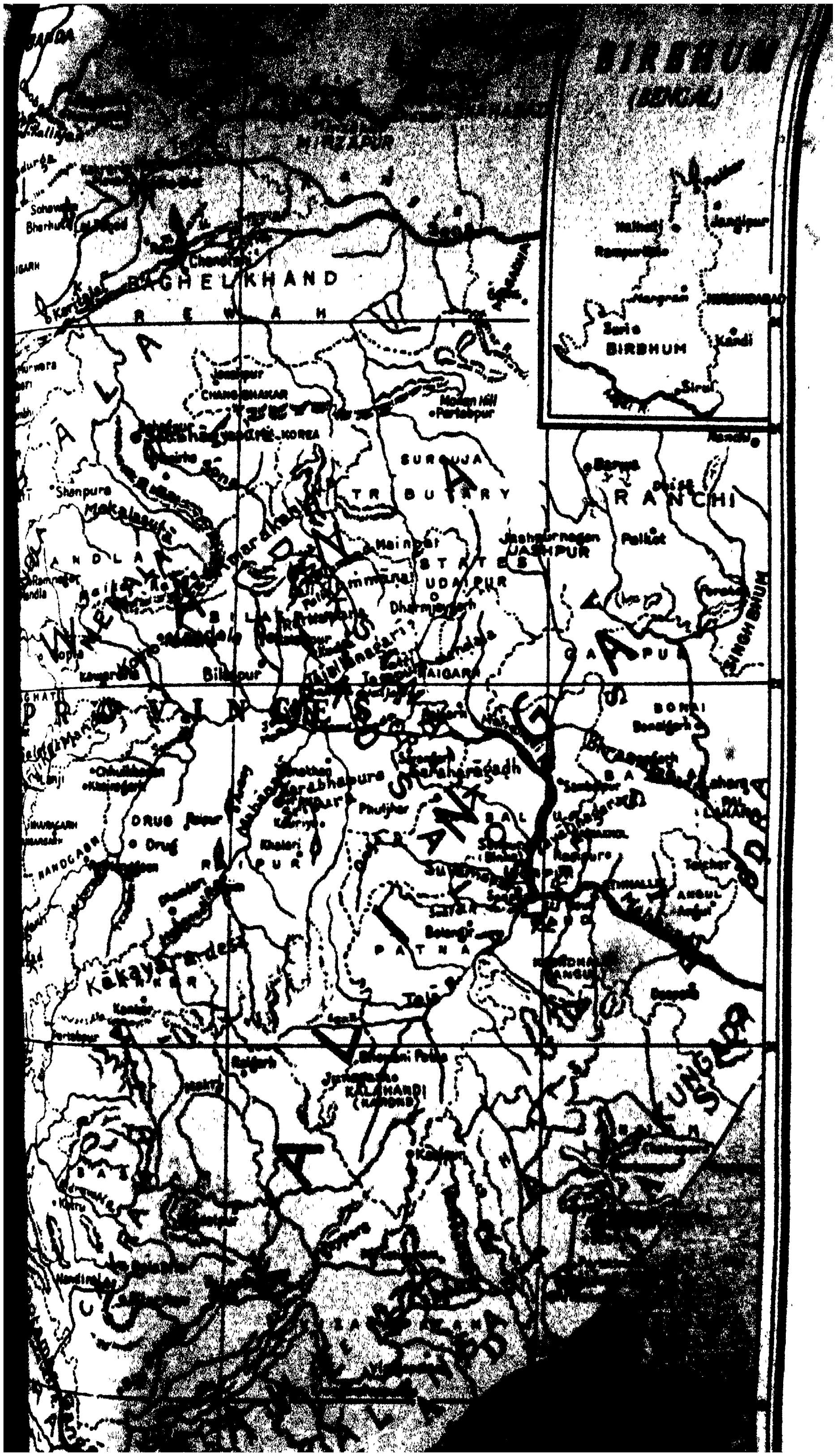
[2] Pargiter, *IHT*, pp. 41, 102, 148, 158, 268, etc

[3] Fleet, *GI*, Introduction, p. 10. *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, p. [illegible]. Some connect them with the *Pāṇḍava* Arjuna. Raychaudhury, *Political History* (3rd Ed.), p. [illegible].

[4] There are several variants of this name, *viz.*, *Kaṭaccūri* (*EI*, Vol. IX, p. 296), *Kaṭaccuri* (*ibid*, Vol. VI, pp. 5 and 297), *Kalatsūri* (*IA*, Vol. XIX, p. [illegible]), [illegible] (*ibid*, Vol. XVI, p. 22). *Kalacuti* (*EI*, Vol. II, pp. 225 ff.) and [illegible] (*JASB*, Vol. VIII, Part I, pp. 481 ff.; *IA*, Vol. XVII, p. 140). The origin of the name is at present doubtful. In the Jubbulpur grant of Yaśaḥ-Karṇa, Kārtavīrya is said to have begat the *Kalacuri-vaṁśa* (*EI*, Vol. II, pp. 1 ff.) I reserve the discussion of the origin of the tribe for my third volume.



GORAKHPUR
(U.P.)
RATLAM
JHABUA
DHAR
INDORE
GWALIOR
DEWAS
TONK
SAUGOR
Bhopal
BHOPAL
Bhailasvamin
Bhasvar
HOSHANGABAD
BETUL
CHHINDWARA
KHANDESH
EAST
BULDANA
AKOLA
AMRAOTI
Ajanta
PARBHANI
HAIHAYAS OF THE UNITED
&
CENTRAL PROVINCES
ENGLISH MILES


BIRBHUM
(BENGAL)
BIRBHUM
Kandi
MIRZAPUR
BAGHELKHAND
R E W A H
SURGUJA
T R I B U T A R Y
S T A T E S
R A N C H I
JASHPUR
UDAIPUR
RAIGARH
Bilaspur
DRUG
Drug
PATNA
KALAHANDI
Shahpura
Kamareda

with the middle Narbada valley. Their capital was at Mandhata while one of their subdivisions is actually named Avanti. This tradition about Mandhata was recently confirmed by the discovery of an inscription at Yewur which introduces us to the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Revarasa of the Ahihaya race with the title *Māhiṣmatī-puravareśvara.*[1] It is again interesting to note that the earliest inscriptions of the Kalacuris so far discovered reveal the Avanti-Mandhata region as the stronghold of the tribe. Thus the Abhona plates of the Kalacuri Śaṅkaragaṇa, the son of Kṛṣṇarāja, dated in (K.) S. 347 (A. D. 595), were issued from Ujjayinī.[2] As the power of the Kalacuris extended as far south as Nasik district, they soon came into conflict with the rising Calukya power. The Calukya king Maṅgaleśa claims to have defeated in the course of an expedition to the north the Kalacuri king Buddha. This Buddha has been rightly identified as the son of Śaṅkaragaṇa; and it has been calculated that these conflicts took place some time between 597-98 and 602 A. D.[3] In their records the Kalacuris use an era which was founded in 248-49 A. D,[4] probably by the Ābhīras[5] and first used in the grants of the Traikūṭaka Mahārāja Dahrasena. But this does not prove that the Ābhīras and the Traikūṭakas were identical with the Kalacuris. As the Abhona and the Sarsavni grants[6] show that the Kalacuris' territory was contiguous to the area where this era had its origin, it is not unlikely that they may have adopted it to date their official records. An interesting point in the Kalacuri history is raised by their title *Kālañjara-puravarādhīśvara.*[7] As the title occurs

[1] *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 268 ff. Yewur is a village in the Shorapur taluq of the Gulbarga district in the Nizam's Dominions.

[2] *Ibid*, Vol. IX, pp. 296 ff. The inscription grants lands in the Nasik district.

[3] *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 295.

[4] *IA*, Vol. XVII, p. 215.

[5] *Catalogue of Indian Coins (Andhras, W. Kṣatrapas, etc.)*, by E. J. Rapson, 1908, p. clxii.

[6] *EI*, Vol. VI, pp. 294 ff.; Vol. IX, pp. 296 ff. The Sarsavni grant was issued from Anandapura, identified with Anand in the Kaira district.

[7] *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 460 ff. In some inscriptions from Hali occurs the form *Kālaṁjana-puravarādhīśvara*; see *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 209.

in the inscription of the Kalacuris of Kalyani (*c*. 1145-1183 A.D.) it is possible that the Kalacuris assumed this title after the victories of the Kalacuri king Lakṣmī-Karṇa (*c*. 1041-1098) over the Candellas. But the Kalha grant of the Kalacuri Soḍhadeva, dated in (V.) *Saṁ*. 1134 (A. D. 1077),[1] seems to suggest that the Kalacuris were in possession of the hill-fort some time before the rise of the Candellas. In this grant Soḍhadeva traces his descent to one Rājaputra, who has been placed by Kielhorn in the beginning of the 9th century. Rājaputra, we are told, was born in the family of Lakṣmaṇarāja, whose elder brother is said to have possessed himself of Kālañjara by conquering Ayomukha and subduing the Krathas.[2] I have already shown that Kālañjara was in the possession of the Gurjara Pratīhāras, Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and Candellas from *c*. 836 A.D. down to the time of the Muhammadan conquest of Northern India.[3] Therefore the brother of Lakṣmaṇarāja must have conquered Kālañjara some time before 836 A.D.[4] In this connection it is interesting to notice the Karitalai and Khoh grants of the feudatory *Mahārājas* of Uccakalpa dated in the same era that was used by the Kalacuri kings of Malwa.[5] Their dates range from the (K.) year 174 to 214, *i.e.*, A.D. 423 to 462. Some of these plates were found in the Nagod state, which is not very far from Kalinjar, while one grant was found in the Jubbulpore district. We have already seen that the Kalacuris' dominions extended in the south at least as far as Nasik. On the west they reached at least up to Anand in the Kaira district of Gujrat; and on the east they may have extended along the whole upper course of the Narbada including a large portion of Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand.

1 *EI*, Vol. VII, pp. 85 ff.

2 *Ibid*, p. 89, V. 5.

3 See *DHNI*, Vol. I, p 589; Vol. II, p. 674.

4 Cunningham also held that the Kalacuris "obtained possession of Kālañjara......... long before Maṅgaleśa Chālukya in the 6th century." See his *ASR*, Vol. XVII, pp. 83-84.

5 *GI*, pp. 117-35; *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 293. Fleet suggested that these princes were possibly the 'feudatories of early Kalacuri kings.'

In the present state of our knowledge no connected history of the Kalacuris of this early period is possible ;[1] but it seems probable that they were deprived of most of their southern provinces by the steady pressure of the Cajukyas of Badami, while the invasion of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras from their bases in the Punjab and Rajputana probably drove them out from Malwa sometime in the 7th and the 8th centuries A.D.[2] Possibly also their power after this was confined to the provinces around the upper waters of the Narbada and Bundelkhand. But the rapid rise of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra empire probably drove them across the Bhanrer and the Kaimur hills into the northern districts of the Central Provinces. The Barah grant of Bhojadeva shows that the Pratīhāras were already in possession of the Kālañjara-*viṣaya* in 836 A.D.[3] These repeated misfortunes seem to have caused a dispersal of the tribe. While one section of the line remained in the C.P., other sections appear to have dispersed to various parts of India. Some of them accepted service as *condottieri* under the Deccani and the Northern Indian kings. It was no doubt from one of these families, settled in the south, that the Kalacuris of Kalyani[4] were descended. In the north also at least one branch appears to have accepted service under the Gurjara-Pratīhāras.[5] It is difficult to define the exact relationship of the Kalacuris of C.P. with the great Pratīhāra emperors; but it is certain that some of the earlier members at least maintained amicable relations with them. It was only after the gradual decline and downfall of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras that the Kalacuris once again succeeded in making their power felt in North Indian history.

The account of the various branches of the Kalacuris that ruled in Northern India during this period can be conveniently

[1] Fleet found a possible reference to the Kalacuris in the *Ārjunāyanas* of the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta (*c.* 340-75 A.D.). *GI*, *Introduction*, pp. 9-10.

[2] *JL*, Vol. X, pp. 29 ff.

[3] *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 15-19.

[4] For their history see *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 468-89.

[5] *Ibid*, Vol. VII, p. 85, V. 9 ; see also *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 744, 745-46.

grouped under three heads, *viz.*, (1) *Kalacuris of Gorakhpur*, (2) *Kalacuris of Ḍāhala* [1] and (3) *Kalacuris of Tummāṇa*.[2] We shall take them one by one.

(1) *Kalacuris of Gorakhpur* (U.P.).

The existence of the Kalacuris of Gorakhpur was revealed by the discovery of the Kahla plate of Soḍhadeva and a stone inscription from Kasia. The second inscription is unfortunately much damaged, and some writing at the end of it is lost, with the name and possibly the date of the reigning king. But from the preserved portion it is clear that the two records represent two distinct families of the Kalacuris which for convenience again we shall designate as the (*a*) *Kahla* and the (*b*) *Kasia Kalacuris*. The Kahla grant was discovered by a cultivator in his field at the village of Kahla, in tappa Athaisi, pargana Dhuriapar, Gorakhpur District, U.P. The inscription contains 59 lines, and is written on both sides of a single copper-plate. In the middle of the lower part of the plate there is a ring-hole. The seal (which was probably attached to the ring) is circular, and "contains in high relief the figure of a bull, lying down and facing to the proper right ;[3] below it is the legend *Śrīmat Sōḍhadevasya*.' The characters resemble those on the copper-plates of the Gāhaḍavāla Govindacandra (*c.* 1114-55 A.D.) and Jayaccandra (*c.* 1170-93 A.D.) of Benares and Kanauj. The language is Sanskrit, but certain proper names are given ' in their vernacular forms or in forms based on them.' The inscription opens with *Oṁ Svasti* ; then begins the genealogy of the donor, which may be tabulated as follows :

[1] Usually known as *Kalacuris of Tripurī*. On *Ḍāhala*, see *infra*, p. 772, fn. 1.

[2] Popularly known as ' *Kalacuris of Ratnapura*.' But the dynasty even after the foundation of Ratnapura claims to be rulers of Tummāṇa (*Tummāṇādhipati*); see *supra* *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 395, 470 and 478 ; *ibid*, *infra*, Vol. II, pp. 812, 815.

[3] The Abhona and Sarsavni grants of the Kalacuris of Malwa appear to have no seals attached to their rings or plates. But the seal on the grants of the Kalacuris of Kalyani, contain the figure of the bull ; see *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 469.

Atri
|
Soma
|
Budha
|
Purūravas
| = Urvaśī
|
Naghu(hu?)ṣa
In his family (*kula*)
Haihaya
In his family (*vaṁśa*)
Kṛtavīrya
|
Kārtavīrya Arjuna.[1]
In his family a certain
Kalacuri-tilaka...who by conquering Ayomukha and subduing the Krathas possessed himself of Kālañjara (V. 5)[2]
His younger brother
Lakṣmaṇarāja......conquered Śvetapadam.[3] (V. 6)
In his family
(1) Rājā Rājaputra......captured the *Turagapati* Vāhali, defeated the kings of the east (*Prāci*) and lowered the fame of Kiriṭin and other princes (V. 7):
|
(2) Śivarāja (I)
|
(3) Śaṅkaragaṇa (I)

1 This mythical portion of the genealogy does not agree with the Epic and Purāṇic tradition. The composer of the inscription has omitted many kings. Thus between Haihaya and Kṛtavīrya he has omitted 7 kings, *viz.*, (1) Dharmanetra, (2) Kunti, (3) Sāhañja, (4) Mahiṣmant, (5) Bhadraśreṇya, (6) Durdama, and (7) Kanaka. Between Nahuṣa and Haihaya he has omitted (1) Yayāti, (2) Yadu, (3) Sahasrajit, and (4) Śatajit. See Pargiter, *IHT*, p. 144.

2 *Ayomukha* is the name of a mountain, and also a demon. The location of the mountain or the legend here referred to is unknown. See *EI*, Vol. VII, p. 86, fn. 2. *Kratha* is the name of a people probably inhabiting the region of Berar. In Purāṇic tradition Kratha is the son of a king of Vidarbha; see Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 168. In the *Mahābhārata* the *Kratha-Kauśikas* and the *Pāṇḍyas* are said to have been conquered by Bhiṣmaka the mighty king of the Bhojas (*Sabhā*, Chap. XIV). Some identify *Kratha-Kauśika* with Payoṣṇī (mod. Purna in Berar), see *GDI*, p. 104.

3 Identified with the northern part of the modern Nasik District in the Bombay Presidency. This shows that this branch of the Kalacuris must have come from beyond the Narbada. The identification of the conqueror of this place with the Tripurī Kalacuri Lakṣmaṇarāja (*EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 70; *MASI*, No. 23, p. 12) has nothing to support it except the similarity of names. See *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 745.

(4) Guṇāmbhodhi......................' obtained some territories from Bhojadeva and by a warlike expedition took away the fortune of the Gauḍa ' (V. 9).
alias Guṇasāgara (I)
Kāñcanadevī = (First wife) | = Madanadevī (2nd wife)

(5) Ullabha abdicated in favour of (6)

(6) Bhāmāna.........' distinguished himself in war with the king of Dhārā ' (*Dhārāvaniśa*); (V. 13)
= Dehaṭṭadevī

(7) Śaṅkaragaṇa (II) Mugdhatuṅga
= Vidyā

(8) Guṇasāgara (II) ································ = Lāvaṇyavatī.
Rājavā =

(9) Śivarāja (II) Bhāmāna
= Sugalladevī

(10) Śaṅkaragaṇa (III)
= Yaśolekhyadevī

(11) Bhīma.........by the decree of fate lost his kingdom (or was dethroned)

(12) Vyāsa...raised to the throne when the royal camp was at Gokulaghaṭṭa in (V.) S.1087 (A.D. 1031).

(13) Soḍhadeva......the life of *Sarayūpāra* (the bank of the Sarayū ; V. 30).

Then in the prose portion of the grant we are informed that from his residence at Dhuliaghaṭṭa, after bathing, the *Pb.-M.-P.-Maryādāsāgaradeva-pādānudhyāta-Pb.-M.-P.-Parama-māheśvara*, Soḍhadeva, on the occasion of the *Uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti* in (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1134 (A. D. 1077), granted to 14 Brāhmans (names, *gotras*, Vedic *śākhās* and places of residence or origin given) various pieces of land situated in a group of 6 villages (*pāṭakas*) included in the Guṇakala-*viṣaya* of (the district of) Tīkarikā. Towards the end, in line 57, we are told that the *tāmrapaṭṭa* was written by the *Ādeśa-naibandhika* (recorder of orders) Janaka

last quarter of the 9th century A.D. This would make him a contemporary of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra emperor Bhoja I (*c*. 836-882 A.D.), and it seems likely that he took part in the great offensive of Bhoja against his eastern neighbours, the Pāla rulers of Gauḍa.[1] It is not improbable that Guṇāmbhodhi received a gift of land after the successful termination of this expedition. It is certain that this Kalacuri prince and his immediate feudatories were subordinate to the Gurjara-Pratīhāras; for as I have shown elsewhere,[2] the Pratīhāra empire some time after 836 A.D. gradually spread eastwards till in the reign of Mahendrapāla I it included large portions of Bihar and Northern Bengal. We may therefore venture the conclusion that the Pratīhāra hold on the Gorakhpur region remained unshaken till their serious reverses at the hands of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in the first quarter of the 10th century A. D. Nothing definite is known about the next king, Ullabha, except that he abdicated in favour of his younger brother Bhāmāna. This last prince is credited with having distinguished himself in a war against a king of Dhārā ; who the latter was is unknown. There is nothing to indicate that the authority of Bhāmāna extended from U. P. to Malwa. But it may be that this king of Dhārā was one of the earlier Paramāras, possibly (Harṣa) Sīyaka II, whose Ahmedabad grants are dated in 949 and 970 A.D.[3] The Partabgarh inscription of Mahendrapāla II shows that the Gurjaras in 946 A.D. still held portions of Malwa. It is not unlikely that the struggle which made the Paramāras the masters of Dhārā was already raging. We have shown elsewhere that this was only a side-issue of the continuous struggle between the Gurjara-Pratīhāras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.[4] The Paramāras fought as feudatories of the latter; and Bhāmānadeva, though holding a fief in U. P., may perhaps have fought on this frontier on behalf of his masters. It was probably in this war that he

[1] *JL*, Vol. X, p. 52 [2] *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. xxxvii, 302 ff., 569 ff.

[3] *PTOC*, Madras, 1924, Madras, 1925, pp. 303-06. *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 177-79; 236 ff.

[4] See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 588 ff. ; see also Vol. II, pp. 761 and 780-90.

found an opportunity to distinguish himself against the *Dhārāvanīśa*. Nothing is recorded of the next 5 rulers (7-10), *viz.*, Śaṅkaragaṇa II,[1] Guṇasāgara II, Śivarāja II, Śaṅkaragaṇa III, and Bhīma. The last was probably dethroned in favour of Vyāsa, a son of Guṇasāgara II, the 8th prince. The grant records that this happened in (*V.*) *S.* 1087 (A.D. 1031) when the royal camp (*kaṭaka*) was at Gokulaghaṭṭa. Vyāsa's son was Soḍhadeva, the donor of the grant. It is difficult to determine the exact limits of Soḍhadeva's dominions, as the numerous localities mentioned in his inscription have not yet been identified. But since he is called 'the life of the bank of Sarayū'[2] (*Sarayūpāra-jīvitaṁ*) and he bathed in the Gaṇḍakī before making the grant, we may infer that his dominions probably included at least the Gorakhpur division of the U.P., and the Saran district of Bihar. His royal titles indicate that he was no longer a feudatory. Possibly the destruction of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra power in the Gaṅgā-Yamunā valley by the Yamīnīs and Candellas may have helped Vyāsa Maryādāsāgara, the father of Soḍhadeva, to carve out an independent principality on the banks of the Gogra and the Gandak. From the figure of the bull on his seal as well as his title *Parama-māheśvara*, we may infer that Soḍhadeva was a worshipper of Śiva. Nothing else is known about his reign or the reign of any of his possible successors. It is however not unlikely that Soḍhadeva was the last prince of this Kalacuri line. The rise of the Gāhaḍavāla power in the 2nd quarter of the 11th century appears to have destroyed the power of the Kalacuris on the Gogra. The Candravati grant of Candradeva, dated in (*V.*) *S.* 1150 (A.D. 1093), shows the extension of the Gāhaḍavāla dominions from Benares and Kanauj to the Svarga-dvāra *tīrtha* at the confluence of the Sarayū and the Gharghara in Ayodhyā (Fyzabad district).[3] As the earliest date (A.D. 1090)

[1] But see *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 751, fn. 5, and *supra*, 745, fn. 2.

[2] Most probably the river Gogra which in Oudh is known 'by the names of Dehoa, Surjoo or Sarayu as well as Ghogra.' See *IGI*, Vol. XII, 1908, pp. 302-03.

[3] *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 193; see also *supra* *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 509 ff.

of Candradeva [1] is separated only by a period of 11 years from the latest recorded date (A.D. 1079) of the Kahla plate, the founder of the Gāhaḍavālas may well have been the destroyer of Soḍhadeva.

The existence of another family of the Kalacuris in Gorakhpur was revealed by the discovery of the *Kasia stone-inscription.* The blue stone slab on which this is engraved was found at the Buddhist ruins near Kasia, 'in all probability the ancient site of Kuśanagara,' in the disirict of Gorakhpur (U. P.). The inscription is much damaged, and 'evidently some writing is lost at the end of it.' The existing portion contains 24 lines, and is written in *Nāgari* characters of about the 12th century A.D. It is throughout in verse, excepting the opening invocation to Buddha. The first four verses are devoted to the praise of Śaṅkara, Pārvatī, Tārā and Buddha. Then follows the mythical and historical portion of the genealogy which may be presented in tabular form as follows:

```
Viṣṇu (Bhagavān)...created
              |
           Brahman   created
              |
            Atri : From his eye
              |
Manu       Candramā (the Moon)
  |           |
 Ilā   =    Budha
     |
  Purūravas = Urvaśī
     |
    Āyus
     |
    Nahuṣa
     |
    Yayāti
     |
    Yadu and four other kings.
     |
    Sahasrada [2]
     |
    Haihaya [3]
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[1] *Ibid*, Vol. IX, p. 302. See also *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 508-09.

[2] In Purāṇic tradition the name is spelt Sahasrajit, see *IHT*, p. 144. The inscription omits Śatajit between Sahasrajit and Haihaya.

[3] The inscription omits 8 kings between Haihaya and Kārtavīrya (Arjuna) See *IHT, op. cit.*, p. 144.

In his family

Kārtavīrya

In his family

(1) Śaṅkaragaṇa
|
(2) Nannarāja
|
(3) Lakṣmaṇa (I)
|
(4) Śivarāja (I)
|
(5) Bhīmaṭa (I)
|
?
(6) *Rajaputra* Lakṣmaṇa (I)
|
(7) Śivarāja (II)
|
(8) Name lost = Bhūdā
|
(9) Lakṣmaṇarāja (III)
⋮
? = Kañcanā
|
(10) Bhīmaṭa (II)

The inscription abruptly comes to an end after this. The name of the king in whose reign this record was engraved, as well as the object of it has been lost. It is likely however that the epigraph 'recorded the erection of the brick shrine in which the large black stone image of the Buddha' was originally enshrined and near the doorway of which it was discovered. The preserved portion contains no date.[1]

The founder of this branch was Śaṅkaragaṇa, about whom we are told that Purajit (Śiva) being pleased instantly granted him an emblem of his own. His son and successor, Nannarāja, is vaguely praised as one 'whose fame spread up to the ocean.'

[1] The stone inscription was discovered in 1875-76. Kielhorn published a résmé of the contents of the inscription in *NKGWG*, 1903, pp. 300-03. It was fully edited by D. R. Sahni in 1925. *EI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 121-37. It is not impossible that Kañcanā was the wife 'of another king whose name has disappeared;' see *ibid*, p. 129.

His son Lakṣmaṇa is credited with having entered a fort and 'resorted to a mountainous district named *Śaivaya*,[1] which was the sum-total of the universe and the residence of Śibi Auśīnara.' Kielhorn identified *Śaivaya* with Seweya situated a few miles south or south-east of Kasiā. But as Seweya 'is situated on perfectly level ground and not on a mountainous region,' objection has been taken to Kielhorn's suggestion. It appears however probable that *Śaivaya* (or *Śaivya*) 'must have been situated somewhere in the vicinity of Kasiā' The next person and the first to be called a king (*narapati*) was his son Śivarāja I, whose prowess resembled the light of the flame created by (the sage) Aurva and 'who was more successful even than Kīrti.' This Kīrti was no doubt the name of a person, but his identity has not yet been ascertained. Can he be the same as the Candella Kīrtivarman (A.D. 1098), who by defeating the mighty Karṇa and recovering his dominions appears to have performed one of the most sensational military achievements of the period? Nothing is known about his son and successor the *Kṣitīśa* Bhīmaṭa (I). The next in the genealogical list is the *Rājaputra*, Lakṣmaṇa II, who was probably the son of Bhīmaṭa. It is said of him that 'the title son of a king, the source of virtues, befitted him more appropriately than hundreds of (other) princes.' Next is mentioned Śivarāja (II), who is said to have produced 'confusion in the circle of his enemies.' The son of Śivarāja is called 'the crest-jewel of kings' (*Narendra-cuḍāmaṇi*) but unfortunately his name is lost. His wife (*dharma-patnī*) Bhūdā bore to him the *narapati* Lakṣmaṇarāja III.[2] The latter is vaguely praised for his victories against his enemies. His wife Kāñcanā bore to him the last prince on the list, Bhīmaṭa II, who 'earned fame by his fierce prowess.'

[1] Sahni suggests that this is a mistake for Śaivya (= *Śivi* + the suffix *ṣya*), *i.e.*, the country or city of the Sibis. Vogel identified Shorkot in the Punjab as the ancient Sibipura; see *EI*, Vol. XVI, p. 15.

[2] *Rājaputra* Lakṣmaṇa probably did not reign. In that case Lakṣmaṇarāja III should be Lakṣmaṇarāja II. It is not absolutely certain that Kāñcanā was his wife; see *supra*, p. 740, fn. 1.

From the account given above, it does not seem that this branch of the Kalacuris ever became very powerful. I have already shown that the Gāhaḍavālas from *c.* 1093 gradually extended their territories from Kanauj and Benares to the banks of the Gogra. That the Gāhaḍavālas retained their power on the banks of the Gogra till the reign of their last ruler, is shown by the Bengal Asiatic Society's plate of Jayaccandra, dated in (*V.*) *S.* 1234 (A.D. 1177), which grants land on the banks of the Daivahā (mod. Deoha, another name of the Gogra).[1] It is therefore likely that this branch of the Kalacuris was suffered to remain as a feudatory line after the main dynasty of Kalha was destroyed by Candradeva. Though there is no apparent connection between the Kalha and the Kasiā branches, the occurrence of many common names at least tends to indicate close connection between the families. If my guess about the identification of Kīrti with the Candella Kīrtivarman (A.D. 1098) be accepted, some of the last princes, at least Bhīmaṭa II, may have to be placed in the first half of the 13th century.

(2) *Kalacuris of Ḍāhala*[2] (C.P.).

We have already suggested the probability that one of the branches of the Kalacuris was driven into the C. P. by the pressure of Gurjara-Pratīhāra power in Bundelkhand. The Kalacuri dynasty of Ḍāhala may have been descended from this Kalacuri stock. We have epigraphic evidence to show that these Kalacuris ruled in the C.P. for at least 300 years. Like the inscriptions of the Kasiā branch their records also trace their descent to the god Viṣṇu. The mythical portion of their pedigree may be summarised in tabular form as follows :

[1] *IA*, Vol. XVIII, p. 138 and *EI*, Vol. VII, p. 86, and fn. 2 on p. 88; see also *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 539.

[2] Usually called *Kalacuris of Tripurī*.

Viṣṇu: From his navel

(The god) born from the lotus (Brahmā)

Atri

'The friend of the ocean' (*i.e.*, Moon)

Budha (or Bodhana) ... son-in-law of the 'friend of the lotuses' (*i.e.* Sun)

Purūravas = Urvaśī.

In his family

Bharata ... 'whose pure fame is proclaimed by the Yamunā, hemmed in by more than a hundred posts of horse-sacrifices (offered by him)'

In his family (*anvaye*)

The *Haihaya-Cakravarti* Kārtavīrya Arjuna, who inprisoned Rāvaṇa ... He begat the

Kalacuri-vaṁśa.

It will be observed from this table that the list leaves out some mythical kings who figure in the genealogy of the Gorakhpur branches. With one exception,[1] most of the inscriptions omit to mention Haihaya or the Haihayas before Arjuna, while the Khairha plates of Yaśaḥkarṇa, make Kārtavīrya 'the ancestor of the family of these Haihaya princes.'[2] But the most serious difference seems to be the inclusion of Bharata in the genealogy of the Haihayas. This Bharata cannot be the Paurava Bharata Dauṣyanti, because he flourished after Arjuna. It is likely that the *praśastikāras* meant the 'mythical king of that name after whom (it is said) India was called Bhāratavarṣa.'[3] In the Epic and Purāṇic lists of the Yādava Haihayas also, the name of Bharata does not occur.[4]

1 The Bilhari stone inscription mentions the Haihayas before Arjuna; see *EI*, Vol. I p. 263.

Ibid, Vol. XII, p. 216.

3 Pargiter, *IHT*, pp. 131 and 146.

4 *Ibid*, p 144.

The first historical name in the genealogy of the Kalacuris of Ḍāhala[1] is that of Kokkalla.[2] No record of his reign has so far been discovered; but the documents of his successors refer to a number of political incidents of his time. Thus the Bilhari stone-inscription of the time of Yuvarāja informs us that Kokkalladeva, 'having conquered the whole earth, set up two unprecedented columns of his fame,—in the quarter of the pitcher-born (Agastya, *i.e.* the south) that well-known Kṛṣṇarāja, and in the quarter of Kuvera (*i.e.* in the north) Bhojadeva, a store of fortune.'[3] The Benares grant of Karṇa informs us that the hand of Kokkalla 'granted freedom from fear to Bhoja, Vallabharāja, the *Citrakuṭabhūpāla* Harṣa, and *rājā* Śaṅkaragaṇa.'[4] The same inscription further tells us that Kokkalla married a lady named Naṭṭā or Naṭṭādevī (*Naṭṭākhyadevī*), who was born in the Candella family.[5] Kielhorn rightly identified Kṛṣṇarāja and Vallabharāja of these two records with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa-Vallabha of Malkheḍ (*c.* 878-912 A.D.), and Harṣa with the Candella Harṣa of Khajraho (*c.* 900 A.D.).[6] Kṛṣṇa II married a daughter of Kokkalla,[7] who is described in the Karda plates as the younger sister of Śaṅkuka.[8] This Haihaya princess, we are told, 'attained the rank of chief queen' (*mahādevī*) and became the mother of Jagattuṅga, the father

[1] Sometimes the family is said to have arisen in the *Ātreya-gotra* (*IA*, 1889, XVIII, p. 210). At other times the family is called *Haihaya-kula* (*IA*, Vol. XII, p. 265, line 16), *Cedi-kula* (*EI*, Vol. I, p. 40), and *Sahasrārjuna-vaṁśa* (*ibid*, p. 42; *IA*, Vol. XII, p. 250, line 16).

[2] Among the variants of this name may be mentioned Kokalla (*EI*, Vol. I, pp. 34) and Kokkala (*EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 78). Kekkalla in the Ghotia plates of Pṛthvīdeva is probably a mistake of the scribe (*IA*, 1925, p. 44).

[3] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 264, V. 17. In early Sanskrit Kuvera is spelt *Kubera*.

[4] *Ibid*, Vol. II, pp. 300 and 306, V. 7.

[5] *Ibid*, V. 8.

[6] *Ibid*, pp. 301 and 304. The identification of Kṛṣṇarāja with Kṛṣṇa II, was first suggested by Cunningham, *ASR*, Vol. IX, p. 80. Kṛṣṇa II was known as Vallabharāja; see *BG*, Vol I, Part II, p. 410. See also *DHNI*, Vol. I, chap. on the *Candrātreyas* (Candellas), p. 678.

[7] *IA*, Vol. XII, pp. 250 and 265.

[8] *Ibid*, p. 265, line 17. Śaṅkuka is probably an abbreviation of Śaṅkaragaṇa.

of the famous Indra III (*c.* 15-17 A.D.), who raided Ujjayinī and Kanauj in the reign of the Gurjara- Pratīhāra Mahīpāla I (*c.* 914-43 A.D.). Possibly Kokkalla may have assisted his son-in-law when the latter suffered disaster at the hands of the Eastern Calukya Vijayāditya III (*c.* 844-88 A.D.)[1] Naṭṭā or Naṭṭādevī probably belonged to the family of the Candella king Harṣa.[2] In view of the fact that Indra III, the great-grandson of Kokkalla was contemporary with Mahīpāla, the grandson of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra Bhoja I (*c.* 836-882 A.D.), Cunningham and Kielhorn were perhaps right in identifying the Bhojadeva of the Bilhari and Benares inscriptions with Bhoja I.[3] But as one of the contemporaries of Kokkalla, the Candella Harṣadeva, was possibly a contemporary of Mahīpāla I, the younger brother of Bhoja II (*c.* 908-14 A.D.), it is just possible that the Gurjara contemporary of Kokkalla may have been Bhoja II, and not Bhoja I.[4] Another identification of Kielhorn is also open to doubt as I have already pointed out, *viz.*, that the *rājā* Śaṅkaragaṇa to whom Kokkalla granted freedom from fear was probably one of the Kalacuri kings of that name who ruled in Gorakhpur, and not the prince of that name who was a son of Kokkalla.[5] Cunningham assigned the reign of Kokkalla 'with certainty to the period between 860 and 900 A.D.'[6] In view of the above discussion however it will probably be safer to allot to him the period 875-925 A.D. During these years he firmly laid the foundation of his family's sovereignty. He formed matrimonial alliances with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Candellas,

[1] *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 411-12.

[2] See *DHNI*, Vol. I, chapter on the Candellas, p. 673.

[3] *ASR*, Vol. IX, pp. 84 and 103; *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 301 and 304.

[4] See on this point *MASB*, Vol. V, p. 65; also *JL*, Vol. X, p. 52, fn. 4; *M* [illegible], No. 23, p. 4.

[5] See *JL*, p. 53, fn. 1; also p. 8, and fn. 2 on p. 8. If Bhojadeva is identified with Bhoja II, Śaṅkaragaṇa of the Benares plate is probably to be identified with the Kahla Kalacuri Śaṅkaragaṇa II. See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 745, fn. 2, and p. 747, fn. 1.

[6] *ASR*, Vol. IX, p. 103. Rai Bahadur Hiralal places his reign in the last quarter of the 9th century A.D.; see *ABOI*, 1927-28, p. 282.

and kept up friendly relations with the Gurjara-Pratīhāras of Kanauj. After consolidating his position at home he seems to have raided a large area of northern and southern India. In the Amoda plates of the Haihaya Pṛthvīdeva of Tuṁmāṇa (K. S. 831=1079 A.D.) Kokkalla is said to have plundered 'the treasuries of the Karṇāṭa, Vaṅga, Gurjara, Koṅkaṇa, and Śākambharī kings and also of those born of the Turuṣka and Raghu families.'[1] Much of this is no doubt mere ***praśasti***. As the word ***Turuṣka*** in the records of this period generally means the Turks represented by the ruling families of Ghazni and Ghūr, and as the earliest recorded date for a Turkish invasion of India cannot be placed before the middle of the 10th century, when Alp-tigīn established himself at Ghazni,[2] the chance's of Kokkalla meeting a Turuṣka opponent were extremely remote. Without, therefore, accepting literally all that the poet claims for him, we can believe that he really raided a wide area around his dominions. There is, however, no means to determine the exact limits of his kingdom. In some records of the Tuṁmāṇa Haihayas his dominions seem to be designated as *Tritasaurya*.[3] This place has not yet been identified. But as one of his sons is said to have ascended the ancestral throne at Tripurī (6 miles from Jubbulpore, in the Central Provinces), and another appears to have fixed his residence at Tuṁmāṇa (mod. Tumāna, 45 miles north of Ratnapur in the Central Provinces), we may infer that Kokkalla's power extended from the Bhanrer to the Maikal range, or roughly over the region now known as the Jubbulpore Division.

According to the inscriptions of the Haihaya kings of Ratnapura, Kokkalla had 18 sons, of whom the eldest became king of Tripurī, while the others became ***maṇḍalapatis*** or feudatory chiefs in the kingdom. They mention Kaliṅgarāja as

[1] *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 75 and 78, Vs. 4-5.
[2] *CHI*, Vol. III, p. 11. *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 25, 79 and 80.
[3] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 33, 34; see also *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 802.

one of these younger sons, from whom the Kalacuris of Tuṁmāṇa traced their descent. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa grants reveal the names of some other sons of Kokkalla. Thus the Karda grant of Kakka II (A.D. 972) gives us the name of Śaṅkuka, whose younger sister became the queen of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa II. The Saṅgli grant of Govinda IV (A.D. 933) tells us that Jagattuṅga married Lakṣmī, a daughter of Raṇavigraha, the son of Kokkala, the ornament of the *Sahasrārjuna-vaṁśa*.[1] The Karda grant mentioned above also informs us that this Jagattuṅga married Lakṣmī, the daughter of the *Cedīśvara* Śaṅkaragaṇa.[2] As in both the grants the issue of Jagattuṅga by Lakṣmī is stated to be Indra III, it is clear that Raṇavigraha and Śaṅkaragaṇa are one and the same person 'the latter appellation being his real name, and the former a *biruda*.'[3] The Karda grant reveals the interesting fact that Jagattuṅga in the course of an expedition during the reign of his father came to the Cedi country and married Govindāmbā, another daughter of his maternal uncle (*mātula*) Śaṅkaragaṇa.[4] This princess became in course of time the mother of Amoghavarṣa III Vaddiga (*c*. 933-40 A.D.) and the grandmother of Akālavarṣa Kṛṣṇa III (*c*. 940-56 A.D.). The Saṅgli grant of Govinda IV gives us the name of yet another son of Kokkalla, named Arjuna. This Arjuna, we are told, had a son named Ammanadeva, 'of exceedingly great might,' whose daughter Vijāmbā became the wife of Indra III and mother of Amoghavarṣa II and Govinda IV (*c*. 918-33 A.D.).[5] The records of the Haihayas of Tripurī however do not mention any of these names of the sons of Kokkalla. The Bilhari stone inscription of the time of Yuvarāja II tells us that Kokkalla was

1 *IA*, Vol. XII, pp. 250 and 253, line 16.

2 *Ibid*, pp. 265 and 268, line 18.

3 *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 414.

4 The Calukya king Vikramāditya II of Bādāmi (733-46 A.D) also married Lokamahādevī and Trailokyamahādevī, who were uterine sisters and came from the same Haihaya stock ; see *ibid*, p. 374.

5 *IA*, Vol. XII, pp. 250 and 253, lines 20-22. Fleet first read the name as Dvijāmbā but see *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 415.

succeeded by his son Mugdhatuṅga, while the Benares grant of Karṇa relates that he was succeeded by Prasiddhadhavala, his son by Naṭṭādevī. As both these names are given as that of the father of Yuvarāja I, it is clear that these two names belong to one and the same person. Hitherto it has been believed that one of these names is a titular name.[1] But possibly both are *birudas* of the *Cedīśvara* Śaṅkaragaṇa, whose daughters Lakṣmī and Govindāmbā were married to Jagattuṅga, the son of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa II. In view of his epithet 'lord of Cedi,' it is difficult to identify Śaṅkaragaṇa with one of the younger sons of Kokkalla who became mere lords of *maṇḍalas*.[2] As the genealogical lists of the Haihayas of Tripurī does not mention this 'lord of Cedi' amongst the immediate successors of Kokkalla, and as both the names Mugdhatuṅga and Prasiddhadhavala look more like *birudas* than personal names it is likely that the personal name of the eldest son who succeeded him at Tripurī was Śaṅkaragaṇa. If this is accepted, Raṇavigraha must be another *biruda* of this king. We have not yet discovered any records of this prince; but the Bilhari stone-inscription of Yuvarāja II contains the following description of his victories:

"On his expeditions the forests by the sea, near which his army encamped, had the number of their coral-sprouts doubled by the tips of the hands of women, stretched forth to gather them.

To Malaya his thoughts wandered, because it is there that the waves of the sea are playing, because there that wind is blowing which causes the Kerala women to sport, because there the serpent is stealing the fragrance of the trees.

Having conquered the lines of the country by the shore of the eastern sea, and having taken Pāli from the lord of Kosala,

[1] *ABOI*, 1927-28, p. 285. See also *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 444. Mugdhatuṅga is a *biruda* of the Kalha Kalacuri Śaṅkaragaṇa II.

[2] *EI*, Vol. II, p. 301.

having uprooted the dwellings of enemies one after another, he was a most splendid master of the sword." [1]

The references to Malaya and Kerala are so vague that they seem to have no historical basis. Excepting the Bilhari inscription, most of the Kalacuri records are silent about the achievements of Prasiddhadhavala. He does not appear to have been powerful enough to pierce through the heart of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa territory and reach the Malabar coast. It is however not impossible that he may have been associated with some of the southern campaigns of his Rāṣṭrakūṭa relatives. The conquest of Pāli from 'the lord of Kosala' looks like a statement of fact. Some scholars show a tendency to identify this Pāli with 'the village of Palia in the Balasore district, six miles from the sea shore,' [2] but it seems more likely that it is to be identified with the village of Pali situated 12 miles to the north-east of Ratanpur in the Bilaspur district. Cunningham visited this place in 1873-74 and found here 'a fine large tank and the remains of several temples on its banks' in the style of the Khajraho temples. [3] There can be no doubt therefore that the village marks the site of an important city. It is however difficult to identify the *Kosalendra* from whom this place was taken by Mugdhatuṅga. It is possible that this prince was a member of the dynasty conveniently designated as 'Śarabhapura kings.' Land-grants of two kings of this line, named Mahājayarāja and Mahāsudevarāja, have been discovered in Raipur, Arang, Khariar and Sarangarh, all situated in the Raipur district of the Central Provinces. [4] The grants contain circular seals with the standing figure of *Gaja-Lakṣmī*. They are written in the 'boxheaded

[1] *Ibid*, Vol. I, pp. 256 and 265, Vs. 22-24.

[2] *ABOI*, 1927-28, p. 287. But see *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 396 and 401.

[3] *ASR*, Vol. VII, pp. 217-19.

[4] For these grants see Fleet, *GI*, pp. 191-200; *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 170-74 and 281-85; Hiralal, *DLI*, pp. 96-97. The characters of the grants belong to the southern class of alphabets. For the Sirpur stone-inscription of Śivagupta Bālārjuna, see *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 184-97.

variety of the Central Indian alphabet,' and are all issued from Śarabhapura.[1] It has been suggested that these Śarabhapura princes drove away the line of rulers known as 'Śrīpura kings' from the Raipur region into the middle Mahanadi valley, but were themselves gradually supplanted by the Kalacuris.[2] The records of these 'Śrīpura kings' were issued from Śrīpura (mod. Sirpur) and were all found near about the Raipur district.[3] Their seals bear the figure of Garuḍa, and they claim to belong to the *Pāṇḍu-vaṁśa* and assume the title 'lord of Kosala' (*Kosalādhipati*). The characters in their inscriptions belong to the northern class of alphabets of about the 8th or the 9th centuries A.D. 'In spite of overwhelming paleographic evidence,' some scholars have tried to link together these 'Śrīpura kings' with the so-called 'Somavaṁśī kings of Kaṭak,' who also called themselves 'lords of Kosala,' and had similar names and titles[4] If this be accepted then the *Kośalendra* defeated by Prasiddhadhavala may possibly have been some princes of this dynasty,[5] and not of the Śarabhapura line, for the latter, though it ruled in Kosala, never seem to have assumed the title of *Kosalendra*. After the conquest of Pāli from the king of Kosala, Prasiddhadhavala may have reached the shores of the Bay of Bengal by following the lower courses of the river Mahanadi.

Prasiddhadhavala was succeeded by his son Bâlaharṣa. The Bilhari inscription omits him; but the Benares grant of Karṇa distinctly calls him a *nṛpati*.[6] So it is certain that he ruled for some time. As that record only praises him in general terms, and most other inscriptions do not mention him at all, he must have had a very short and inglorious reign; and he may have

[1] This place has not yet been identified; but Rai Bahadur Hiralal thinks that this may be another name of Sirpur, in the district of Raipur, see *DLI*, p. 90.

[2] *DLI*, p. 90.

[3] *GI*, pp. 291-99; *EI*, Vol. VII, pp. 103-07; Vol. XI, pp. 184-201; *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 179-81. *DLI*, p. 101. *JRAS*, 1907, p. 621.

[4] *DLI*, p. 90. See for further details *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 393 ff.

[5] Probably Śivagupta, the first prince of the Orissa line, *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 396.

[6] *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 306-07, V. 18.

been the king of Cedi who was 'impetuously' defeated by the Candella Yaśovarman.[1] His younger brother Yuvarāja[2] who succeeded him, is given in the Bilhari inscription the *biruda* Keyūravarṣa.[3] The same record gives the following account of his victories: "Who fulfilled the ardent wishes of the minds of the women of Gauḍa, who was a deer to sport on those pleasure-hills—the breasts of the damsels of Karṇāṭa, (*and*) ornamented the foreheads of the women of Lāṭa; who engaged in amorous dalliance with the women of Kaśmīra, (*and*) was fond of the charming songs of the women of Kaliṅga. Up to the Kailāsa··· and up to the noble eastern mountain over which the sun shines forth, near the bridge of the waters, and as far as the western sea, too, the valour of his armies brought endless anguish on hostile people."[4] In spite of obvious exaggerations, it is possible that the Kalacuris recovered from the effects of their defeat at the hands of the Candellas under Yuvarāja I, who, following the usual practice of successful kings, raided the countries all round his dominions. The conflict with the Karṇāṭa sovereigns, who must be identified with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa sovereigns of the Deccan, throws interesting light on the relations of these two dynasties. We have seen how intimate was the bond of union between these two royal families. Since the time of Kokkalla, the Kalacuris of Tripurī had formed frequent matrimonial alliances with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Malkheḍ. Even Yuvarāja himself gave his daughter Kundakadevī as a bride to Amoghavarṣa III Vaddiga (*c.* 933-40 A.D.).[5] The Karhad grant of Kṛṣṇa III (*c.* 940-56 A.D.), seems to indicate that he also, like his father, married a Sahasrārjuna princess.[6] These

[1] *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 132. Kielhorn suggested that the defeated Cedi king was Yuvarāja I; see *ibid*, Vol. II, p. 301. But chronology and facts seem to point out that the defeat should be referred to the weak reign of his elder brother. See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 675.

[2] *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 307, V. 15.

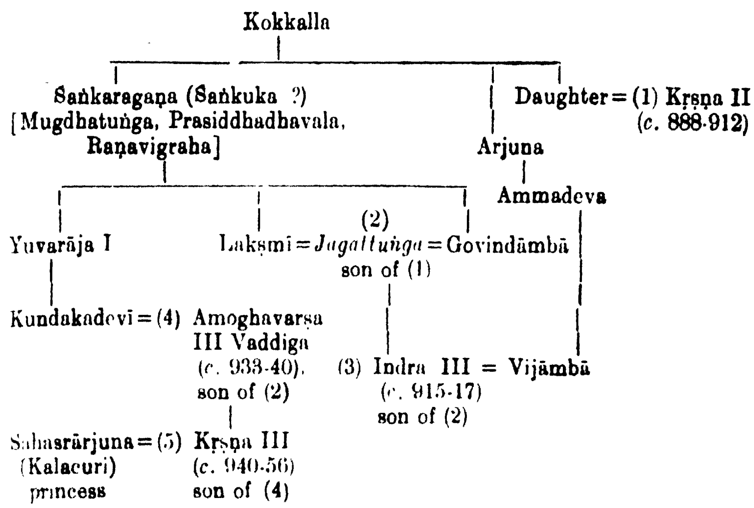
[3] *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 256, V. 24.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 265, Vs. 24 and 28. The Gauḍa king was possibly Gopāla II, see *DHNI*. Vol. I, pp. 350 ff. *seq*.

[5] *IA*, Vol. XII, p. 268, line 23; *ASR*, Vol. IX, p. 104; *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 418.

[6] *EI*, Vol. IV, p. 288, V. 25.

matrimonial alliances may be represented by the following table:



The above table shows that in three generations, within a period of less than three-quarters of a century (c. 888-956 A.D.), there were no less than six marriages between the two families. The recent discovery of the Jura inscription of Kṛṣṇa III in the State of Maihar in Baghelkhand and the references to the possible Rāṣṭrakūṭa occupation of Kalinjar contained in the Deoli and Karhad plates of the same king show that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas' dominions during this period probably encircled the Kalacuri kingdom in the north, west, and south.[1] It is not impossible that the Kalacuris may have even assisted the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in their northern campaigns against the Gurjara-Pratīhāras and their Candella feudatories. But the references to the conflict of the Kalacuris and the Karṇāṭas show that this period of close alliance and co-operation had come to an end. This conclusion is also supported by the Karhad plates of Kṛṣṇa III, which tell us that during his father's reign (c. 933-40 A.D.) he conquered a Sahasrārjuna

[1] See *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 588 ff.; *MASI*, No. 23, pp. 10 ff.

prince.[1] From the fact that this prince is described as 'an elderly relative of his mother and his wife' it seems very likely that the defeated Kalacuri prince was no other than Yuvarāja I, the father of his mother. This conflict must have happened some time before 940 A.D., when Yuvarāja was already well advanced in years.

The limits of the kingdom of Yuvarāja I cannot be definitely fixed. But the Chandrehe stone-inscription,[2] seems to indicate that in the north it included a portion of Baghelkhand. This document is written on two slabs of stone 'built into the walls of the front verandah of a Śaiva monastery which stands close to the great temple of Śiva at Chandrehe,' on the Son river in Rewa. It belongs to the Mattamayūra sect of the Śaiva ascetics. One of these, Prabhāvaśiva, we are told, was greatly honoured by Yuvarāja. The identity of this prince is established by another stone-inscription,[3] said to have been discovered in the ruins of Gurgi some 12 miles to the east of the town of Rewa. The 6th verse of this record tells us that the Mattamayūra ascetic Prabhāvaśiva 'was brought to this part of the country by Yuvarājadeva, son of Mugdhatuṅga, and made to accept a monastery or a temple.' As this last inscription also refers to the building of a high temple at the place by the same king, it is likely that Yuvarāja's power extended across the Son to the north of the Kaimur Range.

The association of Yuvarāja with Śaiva ascetics is also revealed by a number of other records. An unpublished inscription, found at Malakāpuram, in the Madras Presidency, tells us that Yuvarāja gave 3 lakhs of villages as a *bhikṣā* to the Śaiva

[1] *EI*, Vol. IV, p. 288, V. 25.

[2] The inscription is dated in (K.)S. 724 (A.D. 973) and records the re-excavation and rebuilding of a well by Prabodhaśiva which was formerly excavated by his *guru* Praśāntaśiva. The latter was the disciple of Prabhāvaśiva. The inscription was composed by the *kavi* Dvāṁsaṭa. See *IA*, Vol. XX, p. 85; *ASI*, *WC*, 1921, pp. 53-54; *MASI*, No. 23, pp. 117-22.

[3] *ASI*, *WC*, 1921, pp. 51-52. *MASI*, No. 23, pp. 122-29. This is another record of the Śaiva ascetic Prabodhaśiva.

teacher Sadbhāvaśambhu of the Ḍāhala-*maṇḍala* situated between the Bhāgīrathī and the Narmadā.'[1] The Bilhari stone-inscription tells us that Yuvarāja had as his wife Nohalā, who traced her origin to the Caulukya lineage. She was the daughter of Avanivarman, who was the son of Sadhanva and grandson of Siṁhavarman.[2] Nohalā is said to have erected near the modern Bilhari a large temple of Śiva, which she endowed with the villages Dhaṅgaṭa-pāṭaka, Poṇḍī, Nāgabala, Khaila-pāṭaka, Vīdā, Sajjāhalī, and Goṣṭhapālī. She is also reported to have given the villages of Nipānīya, and Ambi-pāṭaka to the sage Īśvaraśiva, a disciple of Śabdaśiva, who again was a disciple of Pavanaśiva, 'as a reward for his learning.'[3]

The Karitalai stone-inscription of the time of Lakṣmaṇarāja supplies us with the name of one of the officers of the administration of this king. We are told that the Brāhman Bhāka Miśra, who flourished in the family of the sage Bhāradvāja, served Yuvarāja as his chief minister (*mantri-pradhāna*).[4] No records of this king have so far been discovered.

Yuvarāja I was succeeded by Lakṣmaṇarāja, his son by Nohalā. There appears to have been no weakening of the Kalacuri power under his administration; and if the records can be believed, he considerably increased the presti[redacted] by invading the territories of his neighbours. T[redacted] inscription tells us that 'the powerful Cedi lo[redacted]

[1] Mentioned by Hiralal in *ABOI*, 1927-28, pp. 288-90. Hiralal also suggests that the Golaki *Maṭha* of this inscription should be identified with the Caunsath Jogini temple at Bheraghat. If this is accepted, that temple, which was founded by Sadbhāvasambhu, must be referred to the time of Yuvarāja I; see *ibid.* For his temples, see *MASI*, No. 23, pp. 31 ff.

[2] An interesting fact about the origin of this Caulukya family is that they trace their descent from the *Culuka* of Droṇa Bhāradvāja, while the Calukyas of Bādāmi traced their descent from that of Brahmā; see *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 180. For the story of origin of the Caulukyas of Anahilapāṭaka (Gujarat), see *infra*, chapter on the *Caulukyas*.

[3] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 266-67 Vs. 30-45. Cunningham identified Poṇḍī with the village of Pondi situated 4 miles to the N. W. of Bilhari. He also suggested that Khaila-pāṭaka was probably represented by Khailwara, 6 miles east-north-east of Bilhari; see *ibid.*, p. 254; also *ASR*, Vol. IX, p. 104.

[4] *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 174-76, Vs. 2-6.

marched with all his elephants and horses, (and) accompanied by strong foot-soldiers of tributary chiefs (*Sāmanta-patti*), to the very pleasant *western region*, inspiring his adversaries with fear......Having valorously struck down (adversaries) who were humbled in battle, having his commands honoured by presents offered by princes who bowed down (before him)..... he made the host of his army sport in the water of the ocean. Having bathed in the sea, the illustrious (prince) then worshipped *Someśvara* with golden lotuses; but he also presented something else. After defeating the lord of Kosala (*Kosala-nātha*), he made (the effigy of the serpent) Kāliya wrought of jewels and gold, which was obtained from the prince of Odra (*Odra-nṛpati*), a reverential offering to Someśvara. Having besides presented elephants, horses, splendid dresses, garlands, sandal and other (gifts), the prince to get out of the toils of this life, humbly praised (the god), full of joy." [1] The Goharwa grant of Lakṣmī-Karṇa gives him credit for conquering the kings of Vaṅgāla, Pāṇḍya, Lāṭa, Gurjara and Kāśmīra. [2]

These descriptions of Lakṣmaṇarāja's victories are of course not free from the usual suspicion attaching to all royal *praśastis*; but certain statements in them seem to contain some truth. His claim to have advanced as far as Somnath (Patan), in the Kathiawar peninsula, seems to be based on an historical fact. During the second half of the 10th century A.D., which probably saw the reigns of both Lakṣmaṇarāja and his father Yuvaraja I, great confusion prevailed in the Gurjara and Lāṭa countries. During the first half of the 10th century Southern Gujarat (Lāṭa) was held by the Śilāhāra feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheṭaka, while Northern Gujarat was possessed by the Gurjara-Pratīhāras of Kanauj. With the decline of the Pratīhāra and Rāṣṭrakūṭa powers in

[1] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 268, Vs. 59-68.

[2] *Vaṅgāla-bhaṅga-nipuṇaḥ paribhūta-Pāṇḍyo Lāteśa-luṇṭhana-patūrjjita-Gurjarendraḥ-Kāśmīravīra-mukuṭārcita-pādapīṭhaḥ* : see *ibid*, Vol. XI, p. 142, V. 8.

the 2nd half of the 10th century, their hold on those distant provinces also grew weak, and during the last quarter of this century we find the Caulukya Mūlaraja (*c.* 974-95 A.D.) fighting with Bārappa, the general of the Cāḷukya Taila II (*c.* 973-97 A.D.), for the possession of Gujarat.[1] In this period of uncertainty, therefore, it was not very difficult for a daring king to penetrate into Gujarat and Kathiawar with a mobile force. It is interesting to remember in this connection the claim of Yuvarāja I to have 'sported with Lāṭa women." By penetrating to Somnath (Patan), therefore, Lakṣmaṇarāja merely carried forward a step further the policy initiated by his illustrious predecessor. The references to the ornamented effigy of the serpent *Kāliya* seem to indicate that his claim to victory over the lord of Kosala was also genuine. It is however difficult to identify this *Kosala-nātha* or the *Oḍra-nṛpati* from whom Yuvarāja obtained the bejewelled *Kāliya*. The former may have been one of the earlier members of the Somavaṁśī rulers of Orissa who regularly assumed the title of *Kosalendra*.[2] There is again no inherent impossibility in the claim that Lakṣmaṇarāja defeated the king of the Vaṅgālas. For the second half of the 10th century marked a dark patch in the history of the Pālas, which appears to have culminated in the Kamboja rebellion. The references in the records of the Pālas and the Varmans, as well as the Paikor (Birbhum dist., Bengal) pillar inscription of Lakṣmī-Karṇa, conclusively prove that the Kalacuris in the first half of the 11th century were in intimate contact with the Bengal rulers.[3]

[1] *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 23, 213 and 430; also *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the Caulukyas.

[2] See *EI*, Vol. III, pp. 330-33. Also *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 394 ff. The association of Kosala with Odra shows that *MASI*, No. 23, p. 12, is wrong in taking it to mean N. Kosala. The Pratihāras were never known as lords of Kosala. Their capital Kanauj lay in Pañcāla. Tripuri Lakṣmaṇarāja also cannot be identified with the founder of the *Kahla Kalacuris*. See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 743, fn. 3. Oḍra king = a Kara prince? See *ibid*, pp. 413 ff.

[3] *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 326 ff. King of the *Vaṅgālas* was probably the Varman prince of E. Bengal. See *ibid*, pp. 318, 324, 331 ff.

It may well be that Yuvarāja I,[1] and his son Lakṣmaṇarāja laid the foundation of that eastern policy, which at last culminated in the reign of Lakṣmī-Karṇa (*c.* 1042-90 A.D.). There is however some difficulty in accepting the claim to victory over Kashmir which is made on behalf of both Yuvarāja I and his son Lakṣmaṇarāja. It must be admitted that the 2nd half of the 10th century was also one of the most inglorious epochs in the history of Kashmir. From Kṣemagupta (950-58 A.D.) to the end of the reign of Diddā (980-1003 A.D.), 'she was a constant prey to anarchy and civil war.[2] But the valley of Kashmir is so distant from the borders of the Kalacuri dominions, that we are loth to accept this claim without some confirmatory evidence from an independent source. The same argument applies to Lakṣmaṇarāja's claim to victory over the Pāṇḍya king. Though the decay of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa power and the uncertain position of the newly re-established Cāḷukya dynasty made it comparatively easy for a king of the C.P. to invade the southern portion of the Indian peninsula, yet in view of the great distance separating the two countries it would perhaps be better to reserve our judgment till we discover some evidence stronger than the eulogy of a court poet. The only piece of indirect evidence which may possibly be quoted in favour of this southern campaign of Lakṣmaṇarāja is his matrimonial alliance with the rising power of the Cāḷukyas of the Kanarese districts. We know from the records of the latter, that he married his daughter Bonthādevī to Vikramāditya IV, the father of Āhavamalla-Nūrmaḍi Taila II (*c.* 973-997 A.D.), who destroyed the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Malkheḍ about A. D. 973.[3] It is not impossible that Lakṣmaṇarāja may have invaded

1 *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 760 and fn. 1.

2 *Ibid*, Vol. I. pp. 130 ff.

3 *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 427. Hiralal mentions Tailapa II as the daughter's son of Yuvarāja II. This must be a mistake; see his article in the *ABOI*, 1927-28, p. 291.

peninsular India to assist his new allies against the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

The Bilhari stone-inscription of the time of Yuvarāja II shows that Lakṣmaṇarāja continued his father's patronage of the Śaiva ascetics. We are told that this line of ascetics emigrated from Kadambaguhā. An object of veneration of these sages was Rudraśambhu. His disciple was Mattamayūranātha, who, 'became possessed, oh! of the town (?) of the prince of Avanti.' His disciple's disciple was Mādhumāteya. His disciple's disciple was Hṛdayaśiva, who 'still further increased the renown spread over the illustrious Mādhumāteya lineage (*vaṁśa*).' We are then informed that the *Cedi-candra*, Lakṣmaṇarāja showed his devotion to this sage, 'by presents sent by well-conducted messengers.' He also 'made over to that great ascetic the monastery of the holy Vaidyanātha.'[1]

The only record so far known of this prince is the *Karitalai stone-inscription* of his minister (*mantri-tilaka*) Someśvara, the son of Bhāka Miśra, who served as the chief minister of his father. This record, which was found at Karitalai, a village in the Mudwara subdivision of the Jubbulpore District of the C. P. (Lat. 24°3′N, Long. 80°46′E), is much damaged, and the preserved portion, which contains 34 lines, appears to be 'only the concluding portion of an apparently much longer inscription, the upper part of which is missing.' The missing portion probably contained an eulogy of the 'earlier Cedi rulers of Tripurī, especially Yuvarājadeva I and Lakṣmaṇarāja, who are actually mentioned in the sequel.' Verses 2-17 of the preserved portion give an account of the family of the Brāhman minister of the king, who belonged to the *vaṁśa* of Bharadvāja. He is described in verse 9 as *bhaṭṭa-Someśvara-dikṣita*. The proper object of

[1] *EI*, Vol. I, pp 267-68, Vs. 46-57. For another inscription of about the end of the 10th century A.D., discovered at Ranod, which mentions Kadambaguhā, a prince of Avanti and the town of Mattamayūra, see *JASB*, Vol. XVI, p. 1080; Cunningham, *ASR*, Vol. II, p 305; *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 351 ff.

the inscription is to record that this Someśvara built a temple of Viṣṇu named after the founder *Somasvāmideva*, in which this inscription was apparently set up. The latter part of the inscription records certain donations, mainly by the royal family. For the maintenance of a *Pura* for eight Brāhmans, near the temple, the king granted the village of Dīrghaśākhika (which may be the modern Dighee of the maps, about 6 miles S.E. of Karitalai). His queen *Mahādevī* Rāhaḍā gave to the temple the village of Cakrahradī, while the king's son, the *Parama-vaiṣṇava* Śaṅkaragaṇa, made a donation on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. There is no date in the preserved portion of the inscription.[1]

Lakṣmaṇarāja was succeeded by Śaṅkaragaṇa, his son by Rāhaḍā. This prince is omitted by the Goharwa grant of Lakṣmī-Karṇa :[2] but he is mentioned as king in the Benares[3] and the Bilhari[4] inscriptions. Both these records praise him only in vague terms, without any remark of the slightest value. He probably had a rather brief and inglorious reign. The only interesting fact known about him is his devotion to the god Viṣṇu (*Vaiṣṇava-parama*).[5]

After Lakṣmaṇarāja came his younger brother Yuvarāja II.[6] The Goharwa plates of Lakṣmī-Karṇa call him a 'moon among the kings of Cedi' (*Cedīndra-candra*), who became a 'supreme ruler' (*Parameśvara*).[7] The Karanbel stone-inscription of Jayasiṁha tells us that he dedicated the wealth which he took from other kings to the holy Someśvara (*i.e.*, Somanātha

1 An account of the contents of the inscription was first given by Cunningham. *ASR*, Vol. IX, p. 81. It was then edited from a rubbing by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 174-79.

2 *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 142; Vol. II, p. 3.

3 *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 807, V. 19.

4 *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 260, Vs. 64-66.

5 *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 179, V. 33.

6 *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 307, V. 21; Vol. I, p. 260, V. 67.

7 *Ibid*, Vol. XI, pp. 142-43, Vs. 10-12. Some identify *Kalacuri-candra* who 'worshipped' the Candella Vidyādhara with this prince (*MASI*, No. 23, p. 14). But see *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 689-90; also *ibid*, *infra*, p. 771.

in Gujarat).[1] It was probably in the course of this western expedition, which he may have undertaken, to emulate the success of his father, that he came into violent conflict with the Paramāras. The Udaipur *praśasti* of the kings of Malwa informs us that Vākpati II (Muñja) (*c.* 974 A.D.) 'conquering Yuvarāja and slaying his generals, as victor, raised on high his sword in Tripurī.'[2] This expedition by Vākpati was probably undertaken as a retaliation for the western campaigns of the Kalacuri kings. The remark in the Khairha and the Jubbulpore grants of Yaśaḥ-Karṇa that Yuvarāja 'purified the town of Tripurī,'[3] may have a veiled reference to the purificatory ceremonies which the Kalacuri king possibly performed after the re-occupation of his capital. In connection with these hostilities between Vākpati and Yuvarāja, it is interesting to remember the struggles between the former and the Cāḷukya Taila II, the nephew (sister's son) of Yuvarāja. The recent discovery of the Ahmedabad grants of the Paramāra Harṣa Sīyaka II (*c.* 947-70)[4] has shown that the predecessors of Vākpati were feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheṭaka. This explains to some extent the nature of the struggle between the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Cāḷukyas, Kalacuris, and Paramāras of this period. These conflicts, in which the Rāṣṭrakūṭas ceased to exist as a great power in the Deccan and in which Tripurī was plundered and Vākpati Muñja met a tragic end, were possibly not detached incidents, but only episodes of the long drawn duel between the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Paramāras on the one hand and the Cāḷukyas and Kalacuris on the other. The alliance between the Cāḷukyas and the Kalacuris however did not long survive these events. The claim put forward in some of the

[1] *EI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 215-16, line 7. *MASI*, No. 23, pp. 14-15, curiously enough, thinks that these 'epithets applicable to Yuvarāja I' have been 'misapplied' by the engraver 'to his grandson Yuvarāja II.'

[2] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 235-237, V. 15; see *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Paramāras*.

[3] *EI*, Vol. XII, p. 211, V. 7.

[4] *ARE*, Madras, 1924, Madras, 1925, pp. 303 ff.; *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 236 ff.; also *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Paramāras*.

later Cāḷukya records that Taila, in addition to subverting the power of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, overcame the king of Cedi, indicates that Yuvarāja II must have subsequently come into conflict with his relatives.[1] Thus the history of Kalacuri-Cāḷukya relationship forms a close parallel to the earlier Kalacuri-Rāṣṭrakūṭa connections.

The only record which can be referred to the time of Yuvarāja II is the *Bilhari stone-inscription* of the Śaiva ascetics of the Mattamayūra sect, who originally emigrated from Kadambaguhā.[2] The stone which bears it is said to have been found at Bilhari (the Balihrī of the maps, Lat. 23°48′ N., Long. 80°19′E.), described as one of the oldest towns in the Jubbulpore district of the C. P. The record consists of 33 lines, the last 3 lines of which are somewhat damaged. It opens with *Om namaḥ Śivāya* and then invokes Śiva under various names. Next it traces the genealogy of the Haihayas from Atri down to Yuvarāja II. It also contains a list of the various Śaiva ascetics who were honoured by or received gifts from these princes. The proper object of the inscription is to record the various gifts and endowments to the temple of Śiva raised by Nohalā, the queen of Yuvarāja I. Towards the end we are told that the inscription was set up in the monastery of Nohaleśvara by the holy preceptor Aghoraśiva, the disciple of the sage Hṛdayaśiva, who was a contemporary of Lakṣmaṇarāja. Verses 83-84 mention the names of Tripurī (mod. Tewar near Jubbulpore), Saubhāgyapura (mod. Sohagpur in Rewa state), Lavaṇanagara, Durlabhapura and Vimānapura (?), 'the inhabitants of which would seem to have had to contribute towards the support of the temple.' V. 85 informs us that this composition 'would deserve praise (even from the wonder-struck poet (*vismita-kavi*) Rājaśekhara.' The *praśasti* was partly composed by Śrīnivāsa and partly by Sajjana. It was written by Nāī, the son of

[1] *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 481.
[2] See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 762-63 and 767.

Karaṇika Dhīra, and engraved by Nanna, son of the *Sūtradhāra* Saṁgama. The inscription is not dated ; but Kielhorn 'felt no hesitation in assigning it to about the end of the 10th or the beginning of the 11th century.'[1]

Yuvarāja II was succeeded by his son Kokalla II. No record of this prince has so far been discovered and in the inscriptions of his successors he is generally praised in very vague terms. Thus the Jubbulpore and Khaira plates of Yaśaḥ-Karṇa call him 'a lion-like prince, the progress of whose four-fold (*caturaṅga*) armies was checked (only) by their encountering the masses of waves of the four oceans.'[2] The only interesting thing recorded about him in these inscriptions is that he was placed on the throne by the chief ministers (*amātyamukhyāḥ*) of Yuvarāja II.[3] This may indicate that he was not the heir-apparent of his father, or when his father died Kokalla was still a minor. The silence of the *praśastikāras* clearly shows that his reign did not form a brilliant chapter in the history of the Kalacuris. It is therefore likely that the *Kalacuri-candra* who 'worshipped' the great Candella king Vidyādhara 'full of fear like a pupil' is to be identified with this prince.[4] Kokalladeva, like his predecessors, may have had also something to do with the Mattamayūra Śaiva ascetics. His name apparently occurs in the lower part (line 40) of a much damaged stone inscription of these ascetics, discovered at Gurgi (12 miles E. of Rewa).[5]

[1] Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 251-70. Just before the last verse (86) occurs '[illegible] *śrī-Sirukasya*.' It is difficult 'to construe the genitive with the preceding or the following verse.' Kielhorn suggested that Siruka may have been the writer of a portion of the eulogy ; see *ibid*, fn. 50 on p. 270. V. 63 of this inscription seems to refer to a real incident in Yuvarāja II's life, *viz*., the slaughter of a fierce 'tiger with his hand which [illegible] a knife.' The record is now in the Nagpur Museum.

[2] *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 3-4, V. 8 ; Vol. XII, p 211, V. 8. This verse also occurs in the [illegible] grant of Vijayasimha ; see *JASB*, Vol. VIII, Part I, p. 489, V. 8.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *ASR*, Vol. IX, p. 105, and *EI*, Vol. I. p. 212. See also *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 689-[illegible] *[illegible]d*, Vol. II, p. 768, fn. 7.

[5] *ASI, WC*, 1921, p. 51 ; *MASI*, No. 23, pp. 122 ff., line 40. The next line (41) mentions [illegible] (*jala-durga*) in connection with the king of Gauḍa. At present it is difficult to know whether this king of Gauḍa had anything to do with Kokalla II. *MASI*, No. 23, p. 9, [illegible] wrong in reading in this a reference to incidents of the reign of Yuvarāja I.

Kokalla II was succeeded by his son Gāṅgeya. The only inscription of this prince so far known, is the *Piawan rock-inscription*. Piawan is a small valley, 25 miles to the N.N.E. of Rewa. At the western end of the valley, below a waterfall formed by a small stream, there is a rock formed into an *Argha* for the reception of a *liṅga*. The inscription is engraved on this rock. It consists of 6 lines and begins with the name of the king: *Śrīmad*-Gāṅgeyadeva *Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara*... *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*. The record is damaged, but it contains the date (K.) *Saṁvat* 789 (A.D. 1038), and ends with *Śrī-Ḍhāhala-m-iti*. It was certainly a Śaiva record, for it contains the word ***Maheśvara***.[1]

This inscription shows that Gāṅgeya had already succeeded his father as king of Ḍāhala before 1038 A.D., and that at that date his dominions had extended in the north to within 50 miles from Allahabad. An earlier date of his reign is supplied by the *Kitābul-Hind* of Bīrūnī, composed about 1030 A.D.,[2] which mentions *Dahāla* with its capital *Tīauri* as one of the countries of India. At the time of the composition of this work the ruler of that country was *Gangeya*, no doubt the Gāṅgeya-deva of the Piawan rock-inscription. In the records of his successors Gāṅgeya is given credit for extensive conquests. Thus the Goharwa plates of Lakṣmī-Karṇa tell us that Gāṅgeya imprisoned the king of Kīra and defeated the rulers of Aṅga, Kuntala, and Utkala.[3] The Khairha and the Jubbulpore grants of Yaśaḥ-Karṇa inform us that he became famous under the name Vikramāditya.[4] The same two grants in a rather obscure verse

[1] Edited by Cunningham, *ASR*, Vol. XXI, pp 112-13, and plate XXVIII. In his list of northern inscriptions Kielhorn gives the date with a sign of interrogation; see *EI*, Vol. V, *Appendix*, p. 56, No. 406. *Ḍhāhala* is possibly another variation of the name spelt as *Ḍabhālā* (*GI*, p. 114), *Ḍahālā*, *Ḍāhala*, *Ḍāhāla*, *Ḍahāla*, *Ḍahalā*, etc. In Kanarese sometimes *Ḍahale*.

[2] Trans. by Sachau, Trübner, Vol. I, p. 202.

[3] *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 143, V. 17.

[4] *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 3, V. 11; Vol. XII, p. 211, V. 11. In *ASI*, 1915-16, Part I, p. 23 fn., Sir John Marshall seems to take this Vikramāditya as Vikramāditya V (1009-11 A.D.), the name of the Kuntala king defeated by Gāṅgeya.

seem to refer to Gāṅgeya's victory over the king of Kuntala. It has been translated as follows: "The crest-jewel of crowned heads, he became famous under the name Vikramāditya, wishing to run away from whom with dishevelled hair (the king of Kuntala) who was deprived of his country came to possess it again." [1] According to Hiralal, 'the eulogist evidently seems to convey that Gāṅgeyadeva was so noble that he restored the Kuntala country to its king who was defeated and was running away with dishevelled hair? [2] A Candella inscription from Mahoba tells us that 'when Gāṅgeyadeva who had conquered the world (*jita-viśva*) perceived before him (this) terrible one (Vijayapāla)... the lotus of his heart closed the knot of pride in battle.' [3] It is difficult to separate *praśasti* from facts in these claims. But the fact that he is given the credit of having conquered the world in an enemy's record is highly significant. I have already indicated elsewhere that the reign of Vijayapāla probably represented a rather inglorious period of Candella history.[4] The Piawan rock-inscription, as well as the statement in the Kalacuri records that Gāṅgeya took up his residence at the feet of the holy fig-tree at Prayāga,[5] shows the extension of his power up to the Ganges in the north. It suggests also the possibility that the whole of the Baghelkhund Agency had passed into his possession. Our inference is further supported by the statement of Baihaqi, who tells us that when Ahmad Nīyāl-tigīn, the general of the Yamīnī king Ma'sūd I (c. 1030-40 A.D.), invaded 'Banāras,' (c. 1034 A.D.) that city 'belonged to the territory of Gang' (ولايت گنگ). It is possible that this *Gang* is to be identified with the Kalacuri king Gāṅgeya.[6] At this time the

[1] *EI*, Vol. XII. pp. 205 ff., V. 11; *ibid*, Vol. II, pp. 3 4, V. 11

[2] *Ibid*, Vol. XII, p. 215, fn 2. See also *ABOI*, 1927-28, p. 291

[3] *Ibid*, Vol. I, pp. 219 and 222, Vs. 22-24

[4] See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 691 and 698.

[5] *EI*, Vol. II, p. 4, V. 12; Vol. XII, p. 211, V 12; *JASB*, Vol. VIII, Part I, p. 489, V. 11.

[6] *Ta'rīkh-i-Baihaqi*, Ed. by Morley, 1862 (*Bibliotheca Indica*), p. 497. Trans. of extracts in *Elliot*. Vol. II, p. 123 *CHI*, Vol. III, pp. 29-30.

Gurjara-Pratīhāras had practically disappeared as an effective power in the Ganges-Jumna valley. The death of Vidyādhara had also probably caused a decline of Candella influence in the *Doab*. Under the circumstances it was not impossible for a daring ruler to advance from his base at Allahabad up the Jumna valley into Kangra, and capture a petty Kīra prince ruling in that area. In the east the Aṅga king at this time was probably the Pāla ruler Mahīpāla I; and an attempt to advance down the Ganges valley from Allahabad may have brought Gāṅgeya into conflict with him also. This would receive confirmation from the colophon of a Nepal MS. of the *Rāmāyaṇa* if we could accept the identification of the *Gauḍadhvaja* Gāṅgeyadeva mentioned in it with the Tripurī ruler of that name. The colophon runs as follows: *Saṁvat* 1076 (A.D. 1019) *Āsāḍha vadi* 4, *Mahārajādhirāja puṇyāvaloka Somavaṁśodbhava Gauḍa-dhvaja Śrīmad-Gāṅgeyadeva-bhujyamāna-Tīrabhuktau Kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājye.*[1] Similarly it is not impossible that he may have attacked the rulers of Orissa from some base in the Bilaspur district by following the downward course of the Mahanadi.[2] In his hostility to the kings of the Kanarese districts (Kuntala) he was carrying on the policy laid down by his predecessor Yuvarāja II. The defeated Kuntala king was most probably Vikramāditya V Tribhuvanamalla (*c*. 1009-1011 A.D.), the grandson of Taila II. The only recorded instance of the defeat of Gāṅgeyadeva is probably found in the statement of the *Pārijātamañjarī* of Madana which tells us that (the Paramāra king) Bhoja (*c*. 1010-55 A.D.) "had his desires speedily fulfilled for a long time at the festive defeat of Gāṅgeya" (*Gāṅgeya-bhaṅg-otsava*).[3] Hultzsch rightly identified this prince with the Tripurī Kalacuri Gāṅgeya.

The success of Gāṅgeya as a ruler is probably better

1 *JBAS*, Vol. LXXII, 1903, Part I, p. 18: see also R. P. Chanda, *Gauḍa-rāja-mālā*, p. 41, fn. R. D. Banerji *Bāṅgālar Itihās* (second Ed.) Vol. I, p. 252; Sylvain Lévi, *Le Népal*, Vol. 2, p. 212, fn. 1; also *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. I p. 317.

2 See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 406.

3 *EI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 98 & 101, line 2, V. 3; *DHNI*, Vol. II, *infra*, chapter on the *Paramāras*.

illustrated by the evidence of his coins. He was the first, and, so far as our present knowledge goes, also the last, in his dynasty to strike his own coins. Their design is very simple. The obverse is occupied by the legend containing the king's name, while the reverse shows the limbate figure of *Lakṣmī* seated cross-legged. His coins in gold, silver, and copper form, in the opinion of Cunningham, 'a perfect monetary system,' which 'must have been very useful and convenient.'[1] The only record of the building activity of Gāṅgeya is probably contained in the Bheraghat inscription of Alhaṇadevī, which tells us that he 'made the earth, though resting below, rise beyond the heavens up to the abode of the gods by raising (on it) a *Meru* without equal.'[2] According to the *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā* Meru denotes a particular kind of temple (hexagonal, with twelve stories, variegated windows, and four entrances).'[3] It is difficult to determine whether this was dedicated to a Śaiva or a Vaiṣṇava deity. It was probably a Śaiva temple, for there is some evidence to show that Gāṅgeya was a devotee of Śiva. His only inscription, that of Piawan which mentions the name of *Maheśvara* seems to have been a Śaiva record. But what appears to be conclusive evidence on the point is the statement of his son's Benares grant, that the latter meditated on the feet of *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara-Śrī-Vāmadeva*.[4] From A.D. 1042, the date of this record, onwards several successors of Lakṣmī Karṇa also refer to themselves in their records as meditating on the feet of Vāmadeva.[5] The custom was later on adopted from the Kalacuris by some of the later Candellas of Jejāka-bhukti.[6] As the name of Vāmadeva does not

[1] *CMI*, p. 72, Plate VIII, Nos. 1-5; *CCIM*, pp. 251-53, Plate XXVI, No. 7.

[2] *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 11 and 15, V. 9.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 6 fn. 42. *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*. LVI, 20. As Meru is the name of a mythical mountain of enormous height, it is likely that the temples called by that name were also very lofty and big in size.

[4] *EI*, Vol. II, p. 309, lines 33-34.

[5] See *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 789, 793-94, 797-98.

[6] *IA*, Vol. XVII, p. 232, lines 4-5. Here Vāmadeva is also given the additional title of *Parama-māheśvara*. See also *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 724 and 725, fn. 1.

occur in the genealogical lists of either the Kalacuris or the Candellas, the question of the identification of Vāmadeva appeared to present an insoluble problem.[1] Vāmadeva is of course a well-known name of Śiva; but as he is given the epithets *Pb.-M.-P.* and in some even designated *Parama māheśvara* it is unlikely that Śiva was meant by this name. From the epithets used, there is no doubt that in every case the predecessor of the reigning prince is meant by the name of Vāmadeva. The solution of the difficulty may perhaps be found in the suggestion of Dr. Barnett that these princes who are called Vāmadeva, were perhaps so noted for their devotion to that god that in the reign of their successors they were considered to have become a part of that god himself. The only instance of such deification of kings hitherto recorded in Indian history is provided by an inscription from Kurgod, a village in the Bellary district of the Madras Presidency. In this record the Sinda *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Rācamalla I, the grandfather of Racamalla II, a feudatory of the Cālukya Someśvara IV of Kalyani (*c.* 1183-89 A.D.) is said to have reappeared after his death in the form of a *linga*. The inscription states that

"Even after attaining a place in the world of Śiva he formed a *liṅga* for the earth by union therewith.

So having come and stood at the western side of (the temple of) the god Svayambhū of the town of Kurugōḍu, and arisen in the form of a *linga* so as to delight the whole world, he became very famous under the title of 'the god *Udbhava-Rācamalleśvara*.'"[2]

Some time before 1042, the earliest recorded date of his successor, Gāṅgeya 'found salvation (*mukti*) with his 100 wives

[1] *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 298-99.

[2] *EI*, Vol. XIV. pp. 280 and 283, lines 19-20. The Viṣṇukuṇḍins of the Godavari Kistna and Guntur districts (Madras) describe themselves as meditating on the feet of the holy lord of *Śrī-Parvata* (*Śrī-Parvata svāmi-pādānudhyāta*). See *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 193-98; XVII, pp. 334-37. *Śrī-Parvata* is identified with Srisailam in the Kurnool district.

(*gṛhiṇīs*)' at Prayāga (Allahabad).[1] As his *Saṁvatsara-śrāddha* was performed in that year, he seems to have died in 1041 A.D.[2] He was succeeded by his son Karṇa begotten on queen Demati,[3] also called *Lakṣmī-Karṇa*.[4] The names of his two immediate successors, Yaśaḥ-Karṇa and Gayā-Karṇa, perhaps show that Lakṣmī-Karṇa was his real name. In the records of his own family however he is always known by the shortened form Karṇa. Such abbreviations of names are by no means an uncommon feature of the records of this period.

According to Indian tradition and epigraphic evidence Lakṣmī-Karṇa was one of the greatest Indian conquerors. The *Rās Mālā* gives the following description of this prince :

"At this time the raja, named Kurun, reigned in Dāhul land, the modern Tipera, and over the sacred city of Kashee or Benares. He was the son of Queen Demut, distinguished for her religious observances, who lost her life in giving him birth. Being born under a good star, this king extended his territory towards all four points of the compass. One hundred and thirty-six kings worshipped the lotus feet of Kurun." The same tradition tells us that Karṇa, in league with the Caulukya Bhīma of 'Unhilwārā' (*c.* 1029-64 A.D.), defeated 'Bhoj the lord of Oojein, (*c.* 1019-21 A.D.), destroyed 'Dhār,' and 'took possession of the royal treasury' there. King Bhoja is said to have 'attained paradise' during this war.[5] This joint attack of the Gurjara and Cedi kings on Bhoja is also supported by a verse in the

[1] *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 4, V. 12; Vol. XII, p. 211, V. 12; *JASB*. Vol. VIII, Part I, p. 489, V. 11.

[2] Fleet calculated that he died on 22nd January, A.D. 1041. *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 303; Vol. XII, p. 206, fn. 3; Vol. XI, p. 146.

[3] *PC*, p. 72.

[4] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 222, V. 26 of a Candella inscription from Mahoba.

[5] *Rās*, pp. 89-90. Forbes apparently took this account from Merutuṅga. See *PC*, p. 72. This authority gives the name of Karṇa's mother as Demati. See also *ibid*, pp. 73-75. Merutuṅga tells us that there were differences about the division of the spoil between Bhīma and Karṇa after the capture of Dhārā and death of Bhoja. Ḍāmara, Bhīma's minister, we are told, for some time imprisoned Karṇa. See *infra*, *DHNI*. Vol. II, chapters on the *Paramāras* and the *Caulukyas*.

Prabandhacintāmaṇi.[1] In the east, according to Tibetan tradition, Karṇa is said to have attacked Magadha and destroyed numerous Buddhist temples and monasteries.[2] This traditional picture of Karṇa is fully sustained by epigraphic evidence. Thus the Bheraghat inscription of Alhaṇadevī gives the following account of his victories: "While this king, of unprecedented lustre, gave full play to his heroism, the Pāṇḍya relinquished violence, the Murala gave up his arrogant bearing, the Kuṅga entered the path of the good, Vaṅga trembled with the Kaliṅga, the Kīra stayed at home like a parrot in the cage, (and) the Hūṇa left off being merry."[3] The Karanbel stone-inscription of Jayasiṁha tells us that Karṇa was waited upon by Coḍa, Kuṅga, Hūṇa, Gauḍa, Gurjara, and Kīra princes.[4] These claims of the Kalacuri inscriptions are supported by the records of their contemporaries. Thus the Nagpur stone-inscription of the Paramāras tells us that when Bhojadeva 'had become Indra's companion, and when the realm was overrun by floods, in which its sovereign was submerged, his relation Udayāditya became king. Delivering the earth, which was troubled by kings and taken possession of by Karṇa, who, joined by the Karṇāṭas, was like the mighty ocean, this prince did indeed act like the holy Boar.'[5] The Candella records also admit that their kingdom was for a time completely destroyed by the invasions of Lakṣmī-

[1] *PC*, pp. 74-75; *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 163.

[2] See *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 326 ff,

[3] *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 11 and 15, V. 12. Most of these geographical names and their location are well-known. *Kīra* was probably located in the Kangra valley, while *Kuṅga* is taken by some to correspond to the modern districts of Salem and Coimbatore. Murala is sometimes located in Malabar. See *DHNI*, Vol. I, 576, fn. 1. See also *IA*, Vol. XVIII, p. 215. *ABOI*, 1927-28, p. 292; *GDI*, p. 134. It is difficult to find out the location of the Hūṇas during this period. *MASI*, No. 13, p. 20, places them in the Punjab.

[4] *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 215 and 217, lines 11-12. *MASI*, No. 23, p. 29, suggests that Vīrarājendra (*c.* 1062-67 A. D.) was the Coḷa king defeated by (Lakṣmī)-Karṇa. See *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, No. 8, pp. 201-02, No. 83, where the Coḷa king claims to have 'recovered [Kaṇṇa]kucci (*i.e.* Kanyakubja).

[5] *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 185 and 192, V. 32; on this point see also the Udaipur *praśasti*, *ibid*, Vol. I, pp. 236 and 238, Vs. 21-22. See also *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Paramāras*.

Karṇa.[1] This fact seems to be referred to by Bilhaṇa, the court poet of the Cālukya king, Someśvara I (1044-68 A.D.) who describes Karṇa as the 'death to the lords of Kālañjara mountain.' The records of the dynasties of Bengal and Bihar also refer to the intimate relationship of Karṇa with the princes ruling there. Two of his daughters, Yauvanaśrī and Viraśrī, appear to have been married to the Pāla and Varman kings Vigrahapāla III and Jātavarman, respectively. The *Rāmacarita* refers to conflicts between Karṇa and Vigrahapāla III. The discovery of a decorative pillar-inscription of Karṇa at Paikore in the Birbhum district of Bengal seems to substantiate his claim to victory over the kings of Gauḍa.[2]

It is clear from the above, that for a time Karṇa occupied a position of marked predominance. The complete destruction of the Paramāras and the Candellas gave him effective control over the whole of the region now known as Central India. When we also take into account the findspots of his inscriptions at Paikore, Benares, and Goharwa (Allahabad district), his close relationship with the Gurjara, Karṇāṭa and Gauḍa kings, and the significance of his assumption of the title of *Trikaliṅgādhipati*, we may well believe that for a time at least he dominated the whole region extending from the sources of the Banas and the Mahi rivers in the west to the estuaries of the Hooghly in the east, and from the Ganges-Jumna valley[3] in the north to the upper waters of the Mahanadi, Wainganga, Wardha and Tapti. Thus the mantle of imperialism which had fallen from the shoulders of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras upon the Candellas and the Paramāras was at last seized by the Kalacuris. The achievements of Karṇa have sometimes been compared to those of Napoleon;[4] but the

[1] See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Candellas*, pp. 695 ff. The Candella ruler defeated by Karṇa was Devavarman (1051 A.D.).

[2] See *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 326-27, 330, 334-35; Vol. II, p. 698.

[3] *MASI*, No. 23, p. 17, interprets lines 1-5 of the Basahi plate of Govindacandra (*IA*, XIV, 102-03) to mean that (Lakṣmī)-Karṇa 'ruled over Kanauj.'

[4] *ABOI*, 1927-28, p. 292.

comparison is misleading. Unlike Napoleon, Karṇa's achievements were not the results of a single generation; on the contrary, they were the culmination of a policy which had been systematically pursued by several predecessors, *viz.*, Yuvarāja I, Lakṣmaṇa-rāja, Yuvarāja II, and Gāṅgeya. The victorious career of the last of these rulers is sufficiently illustrated by his revival of the title of *Vikramāditya* and the epithet 'world-conqueror' given to him by his own enemies. But if Karṇa's rise was not Napoleonic, his fall may have been to some extent meteoric, like that of the French emperor. There is evidence that he was overwhelmed by a series of defeats towards the latter part of his career. In the extreme east, the *Rāmacarita* and the Tibetan tradition tell us that Karṇa was defeated by Nayapāla and his son Vigrahapāla III. Nearer home the Candella Kīrtivarman, under the able guidance of his Brāhman general Gopāla, claims to have recreated the lost kingdom by defeating Karṇa. In the west Udayāditya appears to have revived the Paramāra kingdom in Malwa by ousting the forces of the Kalacuri emperor. Further westward, the Caulukya king Bhīma I, of Anahilwad is praised by the Jaina monk Hemacandra for having conquered Karṇa in battle.[1] In the South Bilhaṇa records the defeat of the Kalacuri monarch by Someśvara I, the Cālukya king of Kalyani.[2]

This war with the *Karṇāṭas*, who had allied themselves with Karṇa in their attack on the Paramarās, may have been occasioned by the alliance which Someśvara I subsequently formed with the defeated Malwa rulers. Bilhaṇa refers to the assistance, which in his reign his son prince Vikramāditya rendered to the *Mālavendra* who came to him for protection, to regain his kingdom.[3] The Sitabaldi stone inscription dated in 1108 Ś. (A.D. 1087) seems to show that the hostilities between the two

[1] *EI*, Vol. II, p. 303; Bühler, *Uber das Leben des Jaina Mönchs Hemacandra*, p. 69; *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 168.

[2] *Vikramāṅkadeva-carita*, Ed. by Bühler, I, 102-03.

[3] *Ibid*, III, 67.

dynasties continued during the reign of Vikramāditya VI (*c.* 1055-1126 A.D.).[1] As the *Mahāsāmanta* Dhāḍibhaṁḍaka of the *Mahārāṣṭrakūṭa* lineage, who ruled round the present Nagpur, owed allegiance to the Cāḷukya king, it is certain that the Kalacuri power in A.D. 1087 had been driven out from the headwaters of the Wainganga, Warda, and Tapti into the Mahadeo hills. It was probably during these northern expeditions of the Cāḷukyas that the Nāgavaṁśī rulers of Bastar were established in the C. P. These rulers claim to belong to the Nāgavaṁśa and the Kāśyapa *gotra*, to have a tiger and a calf as their crest, and to be the lords of Bhogavatī the best of the cities (*Nāgavaṁśodbhava-Bhogavatī-pura-vareśvara-sa-vatsa-vyāghra-lāñchana-Kāśyapa-gotra*). At the end of some of their inscriptions occur the figures of the sun, the moon, a cow and a calf, a dagger and shield, and a *linga* in its socket 'exactly of the shape in which *Lingāyats* wear them.' The dates on their records run from *c.* Śaka 1033 to 1147 (*c.* A.D. 1111 to 1224). They are evidently connected with the Nāgavaṁśī Sindas of Belgutti (Belagavatti = Bhogavati in Honnali Taluq of the Shimoga District, Mysore), who appear as feudatories of the Cāḷukyas of Kalyani, at the end of the 10th and the first half of the 12th century A.D.[2]

[1] *EI*, Vol. III, p. 304 ff.

[2] For the history and inscriptions of these *Nāgavaṁśīs of Bastar* and the various branches of the Sindas see the following :—

(1) *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 160-66, 311-16.
(2) *Ibid*, Vol. III, pp. 314-18.
(3) *Ibid*, Vol. X, pp. 25-38, 40-43.
(4) *Ibid*, Vol. VII, *Appendix*, Kielhorn's *List of Inscriptions of Southern India*, Nos. 144, 156, 189, 218, 221, 233, 234, 238, 243, 247 (and perhaps 253).
(5) *IGI*, 1908, Vol. VII, p. 144, the article on Belagutti.
(6) Dr. L. D. Barnett's note on the *Sindas* in *EI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 268-70. He notices the following branches of the family : Sindas of (1) Bāgaḍage (mod. Bāgalkoṭ), (2) Erambarage (mod. Yelburga), (3) Bijapur, (4) Karhāṭa (Satara District), (5) Bellary District, and (6) Bastar.
(7) *Prithvirāj Rasāo*, (I. 54); Chindas (= Sindas) one of the 36 *Agnikula* Rajputs.
(8) *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 572-78.

It appears likely that these Nāgavaṁśī (Sinda) princes of Bastar were supplanted about

I have elsewhere[1] calculated from the data contained in the Basahi plate of the Gāhaḍavāla Govindacandra that Karṇa must have suffered defeats sometimes before *c.* 1090-1104. This conclusion is confirmed by the discovery of the Khairha grant of his son Yaśaḥkarṇa dated in (K.) S. 823 (A.D. 1073). It is therefore certain that Karṇa's reign came to an end about the beginning of the third decade of the second half of the 11th century A.D.

Karṇa, like his father, was a worshipper of Śiva. He is also reported to have built a temple of the *Meru* type at Kāśi, which came to be known as *Karṇameru.*[2] The only other recorded instance of his building activity was his foundation of the city of Karṇāvatī (mod. Karanbel),[3] on a site about a mile from Tripurī.

The following inscriptions have so far been discovered for his reign :

(1) *Benares grant.*—This was found at the bottom of a well in the old fort of Benares. It consists of 48 lines and is engraved on two brass plates, joined by a ring, to which is affixed the royal seal containing the figure of the four-armed *Gaja-lakṣmī* sitting cross-legged. Below the goddess the seal contains the legend—*Śrī-Karṇa-deva* and below the legend was engraved the figure of a bull. Excepting a verse in line 13 which is in Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit, it is written as usual in Sanskrit verse

the beginning of the 15th century by the Kākatīyas of Warangal when the latter were driven to the north by the Muslims. The *Danteswar stone inscription of Dikpāladeva* (1702 A.D.) gives us the genealogy of the Kākatīyas of Bastar for 10 generations beginning from Annamarāja who is stated to have first settled in Bastar from 'Orangal.' Annamarāja is said to have been the brother of Pratāparudra of the lunar race. Hiralal is probably right when he suggests that this Pratāparudra is not the earlier prince of that name who ascended the Warangal throne in *c.* 1294 A.D., but the prince of the same name who was defeated by Aḥmad Shāh Bahmanī in 1422 A.D. See *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 242-50.

1 See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 699.

2 *EI*, Vol. II, p. 4, V. 14; XII, p. 212, V. 14.

3 *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 4, V. 18; XII, p. 212, V. 18; *JASB*, Vol. VIII, Part I, p. 489, V. 12.

and prose. The inscription opens with *Oṁ namaḥ Śivāya* and a verse in honour of Śiva. It then traces the genealogy of the Haihayas from Kārtavīrya down to Karṇa. In the prose part of the inscription (lines 33-41) we are told that *Pb.-M.-P.*-Vāmadeva-*pādānudhyāta - Pb. - M. - P.-Paramamāheśvara-Trikaliṅgādhipati*-Karṇadeva from his *Vijaya-skandhāvāra*, situated at Svasāga (?), after having bathed in the river Veṇī, worshipped the god Trilocana (Śiva), and performed the annual funeral ceremony in honour of his father Gāṅgeyadeva, granted *Kāsi-(bhūmy)-anta(rga)ta Susi-grāma*, to the learned Viśvarūpa, whose ancestors had come from the village of Vesāla. The date, (K.) *Saṁvat* 793 (A.D. 1042), comes at the end of the inscription.[1]

(2) *Goharwa grant.*—It was found in a field in the old fort at Goharwa, a village in the Manjhanpur *Tahsīl* of the Allahabad district (U.P.). The inscription consists of 49 lines written on two copper plates which were originally held together by a ring. The seal, which was found detached from the plates, bears in relief in its upper part, the seated figure of the goddess *Gaja-Lakṣmī*. At the bottom is a bull couchant. Across the centre is engraved—*Śrīmat Karṇadevaḥ*. The inscription opens with *Oṁ Brahmaṇe namaḥ* and a verse in praise of Śiva. Then in 30 verses the

[1] The inscription was first noticed by Captain Wilford in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XI p. 108. Cunningham in his *ASR*, Vol. IX, pp. 82 ff., also gave an account of the grant. It was fully edited by Kielhorn in *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 297-310. For the date of the grant see also *ibid*, Vol. XII, p. 206, fn. Kielhorn suggested the identification of Veṇī with Wen-Gaṅgā of the C.P. This seems to be wrong. It should be identified with the river Veṇī, which flowed near Allahabad. In his Kamauli grant dated in V. S. 1228 (A.D. 1172 A.D.) the Gāhaḍavāla Jayaccandra is found bathing in the Veṇī at Prayāga; see *EI*, Vol. IV, p. 122. In *EI*, Vol. V, *Appendix*, p. 58, fn. 4, Kielhorn suggested the reading *Prayāga* for Svasāga. On the significance of the word *Trikaliṅga*, see G. Ramdas in *QJAHS*, Vol. I, Part I, July 1926, pp. 16 ff. He tried to prove that the affix means not *three* but *high*: so according to him *Trikaliṅga* means high or hilly Kaliṅga, *i.e.*, the highland intervening between Kaliṅga proper and Dakṣiṇa-Kosala or Chattisgarh (the tract now occupied by the Kalahandi State, Sambalpur district and Goomsur). But see the foot-note of the editor on p. 19, where he points out that *Tiru* (or *Tri*) is taken to be a corruption from Sanskrit *Sri* and cannot signify 'high.' Pliny mentions *Macco-Calingae*, *Gangerides*

genealogy of the dynasty is traced from the moon and the 'thousand-armed Haihaya emperor.' The historical part of the genealogy begins with Lakṣmaṇarāja, and ends with Karṇa. In the prose part we are told that *Pb.-M.-P.* Vāmadeva-*pādānudhyāta-Pb.-M.-P.-Parama-māheśvara-Trikaliṅgādhipati-nija-bhujopārjit-Āśrapati-Gajapati-Narapati-rāja-trayādhīpati* Karṇadeva, while (residing) at the *Jaya-skandhāvāra* situated in Karṇatīrtha, after having bathed in the Gaṅgā and the holy Arghatīrtha and worshipped the divine lord Śiva, granted the village of Candapahā in the Kośamba-*pattalā* to the *paṇḍita* Śānti Śarman. It is dated in the 7th year of the administration of Karṇa (*Śrīmat-Karṇa-prakāśe Vyavaharaṇe*),[1] 'on the full-moon *tithi* coupled with a Thursday, of the month of Kārttika.' (This date perfectly agrees with Thursday, 5th November, A.D. 1047.) It was written by the *Karaṇika* Sarvānanda, and engraved by Vidyānanda. It ends with *mangalam-mahāśrī*.[2]

(3) *Paikore decorative pillar-inscription*.—It was discovered at Paikore in the district of Birbhum, Bengal. It is incised 'on a small decorative pillar,' and records that 'the image of a goddess was made by an order of the king himself.'[3]

(4) *Sarnath stone-inscription*.—It was found at Sarnath 'in the trench to the north of the Jain enclosure, west of the Dhamekh.'

Calingae and Calingae. Macco may signify the *Mekalas* who lived near the Maikal range. As the *Purāṇas* state that the Narbada drains the western half of Kaliṅga (Amarkaṇṭak in the Maikal range). Kaliṅga may have in its wider sense extended from the estuaries of the Ganges to the hills of Amarkaṇṭak in the west and possibly to Godavari in the South. But can *Macco* be the Dravidian *Muk* = three? See Barnett, *JRAS*, 1926, p. 157, fn. 1. See also *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 392 fn. 1.

[1] Dr. Barnett suggests: "Can this mean administration under the immediate eye of Karṇa?"

[2] Edited by Hultzsch, *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 139-46; on the date see the remarks of Fleet, *ibid*, p. 146. The *Kosambā-pattala* is mentioned in a grant of the Gāhaḍavāla Jayaccandra dated in (*V.*) *S*. 1233. See *IA*, Vol. XVIII, p. 137; also *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 536. *Kośamba-maṇḍala* is mentioned in the Karra inscription of Yaśaḥpāla, discovered near Kosam (Allahabad Dist.): see *JRAS*, 1927, pp. 694 ff. See also *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 609.

[3] Noticed in *ASI*, 1921-22, p. 115. *Paikore* is sometimes spelt *Paikor*.

It is 'broken and fragmentary' and contains 14 lines written in 'corrupt Sanskrit.' It is dated in the victorious reign of *P.M.P.*-*Śrī*-Vāmadeva-*pādānudhyāta-P. M. Paramamāheśvara- Tṛ (Tri)-kaliṅgādhipati-nija-bhujopārjit - Āśrapati-Gajapati-Narapati-rāja-trayādhipati-Śrīmat*-Karṇadeva in the (*K.*) *Saṁvat* 810 (1058 A. D.). It records that the *Mahājān-ānujāina-Paramopāsikā* Māmaka, wife of one Dhaneśvara caused 'a copy of the *Aṣṭa-sāhasrikā* to be written in the Saddharmacakrapravarttana Mahāvihāra. It ends with the 'usual imprecations.'[1]

(5) *Rewa stone-inscription.*—This inscription is now 'in the store of the office of the Home Member of the Council of Regency,' Rewa State. Its find-spot is at present unknown. 'The record is incised on a smooth plain slab of sandstone, the left half of which is missing.' It is dated in the (K.) S. 812 (A.D. 1060-61), in the 9th year of the reign of Karna. The inscription begins with a verse containing an invocation to Śiva. The record is so mutilated that it is very difficult to follow the details mentioned in it. But it seems to refer to a line of chiefs[2] who were servants of the Kalacuri kings. It mentions two battles, a battle of the horses (*ghoṭaka-vigraha*) and a battle in the valley of the Yellow mountain (*pīta-parvata-tala*), in which Vapullaka (also called Vapula), one of these chiefs, seem to have shown his valour. In the second conflict (*samara*) he defeated the forces of one Trilocana and a holy person (*muni*) named Vijjala. The proper object of the inscription is to record some donation of land to (Śiva) Vapuleśvara, who was named after Vapula, 'a devoted worshipper of the feet' of Karṇadeva. The *praśasti* was composed by one Viruka. Line 19 contains a supplementary record which mentions the donation of an image of *Maheśvarī* by a lady named Pravarā, *alias* Nayanāvalī, who was apparently the wife of Vapula.[3]

[1] *ASI*, 1906-07, pp. 100-01. [2] One of these is called *Rāṇaka*, see line 7.
[3] Noticed in *ASI, WC*, 1921, pp. 52-58. *MASI*, No. 23, pp. 130-33; Trilocana is

The term used here in connection with the regnal year is: "*Śrīmat-Karṇa-prakāśa-Vyavaharaṇāya,*" which probably means 'according to law or according to custom or practice regulating the public appearance of Karṇa.'[1] As we know from his Benares grant that he was ruling in 1042 A.D., this record shows that either he was crowned a second time as an universal ruler (*Cakravartin*) or that his formal coronation was deferred for about 11 years. But unfortunately the acceptance of this involves a conflict with the date of the Goharwa grant, which is dated exactly as in this inscription, in the 7th year, and which was calculated by Fleet to be in perfect agreement with 1047 A.D. Unless it can be shown that the date of the Goharwa grant also agrees with 1058-59 A.D., we must conclude that the reading of the date in one of the inscriptions (Nos. 2 and 5) is wrong.

Lakṣmī-Karṇa was succeeded some time before 1073 A.D. by his son Yaśaḥ-Karṇa, begotten on queen Āvalladevī of the Hūṇa stock (*Hūṇānvaya*).[2] The Jubbulpore and Khaira grants of Yaśaḥ-Karṇa seem to indicate that he was crowned as king while his father was still living. The verse which describes his coronation runs as follows:

"Of this law-abiding (son), the father, whose acts were purified by the respect which he paid to the family priests, performed the great inauguration ceremony (*mahābhiṣekam*) in the midst of the four great oceans, made resplendent, as by a full jar, by the king of mountains, and illumined by the moon and the sun."[3]

As the verse quoted above distinctly says that Karṇa himself took part in his son's coronation we may perhaps conclude

identified with the Lāṭa Caulukya Trilocanapāla (A. D. 1051). See *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*.

[1] See above, p. 784, fn. 1.

[2] *EI*, Vol. II, p. 4, V. 15; XII, p. 212, V. 15. *JASB*, Vol. XII, p. 480, V. 18.

[3] *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 4 and 6, V. 16; XII, p. 212, V. 16.

that after his serious defeats, like the Śāhi king Jayapāla,[1] he abdicated his throne in favour of his son. This event, as we have seen, must have occurred some time before 1073 A.D, the date of the Khairha grant.

In the Kalacuri records, Yaśaḥ-Karṇa is generally praised vaguely for his victories. In his own grants he is called the *Jambudvīpa-ratna-pradīpa* who had 'erected high pillars of victory near the ends of the earth.'[2] The only definite statement about his victories in his own grants is contained in the following verse:

"Extirpating with ease the ruler of *Andhra*, (even though) the play of (that king's) arms disclosed no flaw, he reverenced the holy *Bhīmeśvara* with many ornaments. The *Godāvarī*, with her waves, trees and creeping plants dancing, has sung his deeds of valour with the seven notes of her stream, sweet like the cries of the intoxicated flamingo."[3]

The *Bhīmeśvara* of the above passage has been identified with some probability with 'the rather handsome two-storeyed shrine of the god Bhīmeśvara-svāmin at Drākshārāma' (Godavari District). This temple is reported to contain 'a particularly big *lingam*, some fourteen or fifteen feet high' and also inscriptions, dated from A. D. 1055.[4] The Andhra king is probably to be identified with the Calukya Vijayāditya, who ruled in Veṅgi from about 1064 to 1074 A. D.[5] The only other reference to his victory is contained in the Bheraghat stone-inscription of Alhaṇadevī. V. 14 of this record tells us that Yaśaḥ-Karṇa became famous by devastating *Campāraṇya*.[6] Kielhorn suggested

[1] *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 87.

[2] *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 4, Vs. 17 and 19; Vol. XII. p. 212, Vs. 17 and 19.

[3] *EI*, Vol. II, p. 4, V. 23; Vol. XII, p. 213, V. 23.

[4] *EI*, Vol. II, p. 7, fn. 48; Vol. XII, p. 206.

[5] *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 454. Vijayāditya was a son of Someśvara I (c. 1044-68) and a brother of Vikramāditya VI (c. 1076-1126). He was probably a feudatory of these two rulers.

[6] *EI*, Vol. II, p. 11, V. 14.

that this place should denote a tract of country near the Godavari river; but it is more likely that the place is to be identified with the modern Champaran district of Bihar. We have already seen that there is some evidence to show that Gāṅgeya, one of the predecessors of Yaśaḥ-Karṇa, ruled in Tīra-bhukti which included Champaran.[1] This area may have been lost to the Kalacuris after the defeats which overwhelmed Karṇa during the latter part of his reign. Yaśaḥ-Karṇa may have therefore undertaken an expedition into that province to punish its rebellious tribes. That he succeeded in making no permanent impression in Tīra-bhukti is clear from the inscription of Alhaṇadevī. It was only a raid. At present we do not know the last date of Yaśaḥ-Karṇa, but as the first recorded date of his successor, so far known, is (K.) S. 902 (A. D. 1151), it is not impossible that his reign may have extended well into the beginning of the 3rd decade of the 11th century. In that case the rise of the Gāhaḍavālas in *c.* 1090 A.D. and their occupation of the whole area from Benares to Kanauj must have robbed Yaśaḥ-Karṇa of some of his fairest provinces in the Ganges-Jumna valley. This conclusion is supported by a grant of the Gāhaḍavāla Govindacandra, which in *V. S.* 1177 (A. D. 1122) sanctions the transfer of some land which was previously granted by the (Kalacuri) king Yaśaḥ-Karṇa.[2] As the reign of Lakṣmī-Karṇa ended before 1073 A.D., we can safely conclude that the Ganges-Jumna *Doab* was conquered by Candradeva (*c.* 1090-1104) from the Kalacuris in the reign of Yaśaḥ-Karṇa.[3] Another serious defeat that Yaśaḥ-Karṇa appears to have suffered came from the revived Paramāra dynasty of Malwa. The Nagpur *praśasti* of Naravarman tells us that the illustrious Lakṣmadeva (*c.* 1070-1100 A. D.) attacked Tripurī and annihilating his warlike spirited adversaries encamped on

[1] For the area indicated by *Tira-bhukti*, consult Monier Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford, 1872, p. 376.

[2] *JASB*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 123ff. See also *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 519 and 530 ff.

[3] *IA*, Vol. XIV, pp. 102-03, lines 3-5 See also *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 508 ff.

the banks of the Revā.[1] Yaśaḥ-Karṇa probably also suffered defeats in the hands of the Candella Sallakṣaṇavarman[2] and the Cālukya Vikramāditya VI.[3] There are reasons to believe that the hold of Tripurī on Tummāṇa also grew precarious during this period.[4]

The following records have so far been discovered for the reign of Yaśaḥ-Karṇa.

(1) *Khairha grant*—This was found in a large stone chest at Khairha (N. Lat. 23 12′, Long. 81°30′ E), a village in the Rewah state about 11 miles S. E. of Sohagpur, the headquarters of a *tahsīl* of the same name. The inscription consists of 44 lines, and is incised on two plates. The bell-shaped seal which is attached with a heavy ring has the usual figure of *Gaja-lakṣmī*, and the bull, and between them, the legend *Śrīmad-Yaśaḥ-Karṇadevaḥ*. It opens with *Om namo Brahmaṇe*, and then gives the usual genealogy of the Kalacuris from the mythical *Viṣṇu* down to Yaśaḥ-Karṇa. In the prose part of the inscription we are told that *Pb.-M.-P.*-Vāmadeva-*padānudhyāta-Pb.-M.-P.-Parama-māheśvara-Trikaliṅgadhipati-nija-bhujopārjit - Āśrapati-Gajapati-Narapati-raja-trayādhipati* Yaśah-Karnadeva granted the village of Dēulā-pañcela in the Devagrama-*pattalā* to a Brāhman named Gaṅgādhara Śarman. The inscription is dated in K.) *Samvat* 823 (1073 A.D). It was written by *Dharmalekhin* Vacchūka.[5]

(2) *The Jubbulpore grant*.—This was found deposited in the Nagpur Museum. Its find-spot is unknown. It was

[1] *EI*, Vol. II, p. 186, V. 30 See also *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Paramāras*.

[2] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 327, V. 4; also *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol II. p. 702.

[3] *Belgami inscription* of Vikramaditya VI, dated in A D. 1081. See *Archaeological Survey of Mysore, Annual Report*, 1929, pp 133 and 137, line 33. I am indebted to Dr. D. C. Ganguli for this reference.

[4] See *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 803, 806 and 808.

[5] Edited by Hiralal, *EI*, Vol XII, pp. 205-17. The date of the inscription appears to be irregular; see *ibid*, p. 206. The editor is inclined to think that the Devagrāma-*pattalā* may be identified with mod. Deogavān, close to Khairha.

originally inscribed on two plates; but the second is now lost. The preserved plate contains the historical portion of the grant, which opens with *Oṁ namo Brahmaṇe*, and then gives the usual genealogy of the Kalacuris from the Moon down to Yaśaḥ-Karṇa. In the Nagpur Museum transcript of the inscription, which was made before the second plate was lost, the date is given as 'Monday, the 10th of the dark-fortnight of Māgha 829, at the time of the *Uttarāyaṇa Saṁkrānti*,' the details work out for 'Monday the 31st December, 1078 A.D.' The preserved portion of the grant ends with *Pb.-M.-P.-Śrī*-Vāmadeva.[1]

Yaśaḥ-Karṇa was succeeded by his son Gayā-Karṇa. The only record so far known of this king is the *Tewar stone-inscription*. It was found on a light green stone which appears to have been found at Tewar (Tripurī), a village about 6 miles to the west of Jubbulpore (C.P.). The inscription contains 22 lines. It opens with *Oṁ namaḥ Śivāya*; then follows the genealogy of the princes of the *Ātreya-gotra* from (Lakṣmī)-Karṇa to Gayā-Karṇa. In lines 4-5 the wish is expressed that this last prince together with his son, the *Yuvarāja* Narasiṁha, may rule the earth for ever. The proper object of the inscription is to record the erection of a temple of Śiva by a Pāśupata (or *Pāñcārthika*) ascetic named Bhāvabrahman, a disciple of the ascetic Bhāvatejas, of the Ananta *gotra*. It is dated in line 21 in the Cedi year 902 (*Nava-Śata-Yugalābdādhikya-gē Cedi-diṣṭe*), corresponding to A.D. 1151.[2]

[1] I call this plate the Jubbulpore grant because it is so called by Cunningham and Kielhorn. It has been edited by Kielhorn in *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 1-7. He did not know that the Nagpur Museum transcript contains the year—*Saṁvat* 829. This is given by Hiralal in *EI*, Vol. XII, p. 207. Kielhorn, on the data available to him, fixed upon A.D. 1122 as the date of the grant. The first plate of the grant is now in the Nagpur Museum.

[2] Edited by Kielhorn in *IA*, XVIII, pp. 209-11. The editor has pointed out that the word *diṣṭa* means *kāla*; *Cedi-diṣṭa* therefore means Cedi-kāla (*cf.* Mālava-kāla). The local name of Śiva appears to have been *Gāhuṇḍa* (line 16). A naked colossal Jaina image dedicated in the reign of Gayā-Karṇa was discovered at Bahuriband in the Jubbulpore District (C. P.). It mentions the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* the Rāṣṭrakūṭa 'Golhana.' See *ASR*, Vol. IX, p. 40.

Gayā-Karṇa married the Guhila princess Alhaṇadevī. The Bheraghāṭ stone-inscription of this queen gives us the following genealogy of her ancestors :[1] –

In the Gobhilaputra-gotra[2]
|
Nṛpati Haṁsapāla
|
King Vairisiṁha — *Mālava-maṇḍalādhinātha* Udayāditya
| |
Vijayasiṁha = Śyāmaladevī
|
Ḍāhala Kalacuri Gayā-Karṇa = Alhaṇadevī
|
Narasiṁha

Alhaṇadevī was therefore a relative of the Paramāra kings of Malwa. We have seen that Yaśaḥ-Karṇa was severely defeated by the Paramāra Lakṣmadeva. But during the first half of the 12th century the Paramāras appear to have been driven westward across the Betwa by a revival of the Candella power under Madanavarman (*c.* 1129-63 A.D).[3] In the Mau inscription of the Candellas we are told that before Madanavarman the Cedi king always fled vanquished in fierce fight.[4] I have pointed out elsewhere that this Cedi king was probably Gayā-Karṇa.[5] The discovery of the Panwar hoard of coins[6] of Madanavarman seems to indicate that Baghelkhand, to the North of the Kaimur range, was probably annexed by the Candellas. The Kalacuris had already lost some of their fairest provinces in the Ganges valley to the Gāhaḍavālas in the reign of Yaśaḥ-Karṇa. During this reign they fully lost their

[1] *EI*, Vol. II, p. 12, Vs 17-25.

[2] This branch ruled in Medapāṭa (Mewar). Politically they were not an important power at this period. See *infra*, chapters on the *Guhila-putras*, *Paramāras*, and the *Caulukyas*.

[3] See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Candellas*, p. 711.

[4] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 198, V. 15.

[5] See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Candellas*, p. 711.

[6] *Ibid*; *JASB*, 1914, pp. 109-200.

hold on South Kosala, the Tuṁmāṇa branch of the family having become completely independent.[1] The victories of the Candellas must have made their condition still worse. Common danger and the instinct of self-preservation may have therefore compelled the Paramāras and Kalacuris to forget their old hatred. The marriage of Gayā-Karṇa with the grand-daughter of Udayāditya may in that case be regarded as a tangible symbol of friendship between the Paramāras and the Kalacuris.

The *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* of Merutuṅga[2] seems to contain a story of an attack on Gujarat by Gayā-Karṇa. We are told that once when the Caulukya Kumārapāla of Aṇahilapāṭaka had started on a pilgrimage "he was informed by a couple of posts (*Yugalikā*), who came from a foreign country that Karṇa, king of Ḍāhala was marching against him. His forehead was beaded with drops of perspiration, and he abandoned, out of fear, his desire of being head of the congregation, and came with the minister Vāgbhaṭa, and blamed himself at the feet of Hemacandra." The story runs that the Jain sage assured his disciple that "in the 12th watch from this time your mind will be relieved." At the appointed time Kumārapāla was informed that 'Karṇa had gone to heaven.' "Karṇa," we are told, "was making a march at night, seated on the forehead of an elephant, and allowed his eyes to close in sleep, and while he was in this state, a gold chain, that he wore on his neck, caught in a banyan tree, and hanged him, and so he died." It is difficult to say whether this story has any foundation in fact. But the date of Kumārapāla (*c.* 1144-73 A.D.), makes it almost certain that by 'Karṇa,[3] king of Ḍāhala' Merutuṅga meant Gayā-Karṇa (*c.* 1151 A.D.).

Gayā-Karṇa was succeeded by his son Narasiṁha, who had been already associated in government with his father for some

[1] See *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, section on the Tuṁmāṇa branch, p. 808.

[2] *PC*, p. 146.

[3] See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 777, fn. 4. *Lakṣmi-Karṇa* was also called *Karṇa*.

time before 1151 A.D., the date of the Tewar inscription. The following inscriptions have so far been found for his reign :

(1) *Bheraghat stone-inscription.*—The block of green stone which bears this was found at Bheraghat on the Narbada, in the Jubbulpore district of the C P. It contains 29 lines and opens with *Oṁ namaḥ Śivāya* and 6 verses invoking the blessings of Śiva, Gaṇeśa, and Sarasvatī. Then follows a pedigree of the Kalacuris from Arjuna (Sahasrārjuna, V. 7) to Gayā-Karṇa, who married the Gobhila princess Alhaṇadevī. The latter bore him Narasiṁha, and Jayasiṁha. The former of these two princes was reigning when the inscription was set up. The proper object of the inscription is to record the foundation of a temple of Śiva (*Indu-mauli*), with a *maṭha*, a hall of study and gardens attached to it, by the widowed queen Alhaṇadevī. For the maintenance of these institutions and the temple, the queen 'assigned the two villages of Nāmaüṇḍi, in the Jāulī-*pattalā*, and of Makarapāṭaka, on the right bank of the Narmadā in the land adjoining the hills. The management of the whole establishment, thus founded by the queen, was entrusted in the first instance to a Pāśupata ascetic of Lāṭa lineage'. All the aforesaid buildings were planned by the *Sūtradhāra* Pīthe, who knew 'the rules of Viśvakarman.' The *praśasti* was composed by Śaśidhara of the Mauna *gotra*, and written by his elder brother Pṛthvīdhara. It was engraved on stone by the *Sūtradhāra* Bālasiṁha. The date (K.) *Saṁvat* 907 (A.D. 1155) comes at the end.[1]

(2) *Lal-Pahad rock-inscription.*—This is 'rudely engraved on a piece of rock on the top of a hill called Lāl-Pahāḍ,' near Bharhut in the Nagod State, C.I. (Lat. 24°27′N., Long. 80°55′E.) It contains 8 lines. It begins with *Svasti Śrī* ; then follows *Pb.*-

[1] First edited by Dr. F. E. Hall in *JAOS*, Vol. VI, 1860, pp. 499-532. The text of Dr. Hall was then printed with a photolithograph in *ASWI*, *Memoranda*, *No. 10* (*Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India*), pp. 106-09. Finally edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 7-17.

M.-P. Vāmadeva-*pādānudhyāta-Pb.-M.-P.-Parama-māheśvara-Trikaliṅgādhipati-nija-bhujopārjit-Āśvapati-Gajapati-Narapati-rāja-trayādhipati-Śrīmān*-Narasiṁhadeva-*caraṇāḥ*. In lines 5-6 the inscription seems to record the construction of a *vaha* or water-channel by the *Rāuta* Ballāladevaka, son of Keśavāditya, the *Mahārājaputra* of Vadyavā-grāma. The date, (K.) *Saṁvat* 909 (A.D. 1158) is given in line 5.[1]

(3) *Alha-Ghat stone-inscription*.—" This inscription together with two others, is on a block of stone which is about a hundred yards from a large cave, somewhere near the foot of Alha-Ghāt, 'one of the natural passes of the Vindhya hills by which the Tons river finds its way from the tableland of Rewah to the plain of the Ganges' " (Lat. 24°55'N., Long. 81°27'E.). It contains 7 lines, and opens with the date (V.) *Saṁvat* 1216 (A.D. 1159), in the victorious reign of the *Ḍāhālīya-mahārājādhirāja* Narasiṁhadeva. The object is to record (lines 2-5) that the *Rāṇaka* Chīhula, son Jālhaṇa, the *Mahārāṇaka* of Pipal-[oau?]durga, performed some meritorious deed in connection with or near Ṣaṭaṣaḍikā Ghāṭ. Line 6 seems to mention some person from Kauśāmbī who had something to do with the *Rāṇaka's* orders. The record was written by *Ṭhakura* Kamalādhara. It ends with the name of *Sūtradhāra* Kamalasīha and 4 others, who were probably artisans engaged in the work mentioned above.[2]

Nothing definite is recorded of this king's reign ; but the find-spots of the Lal-Pahad and Alha-Ghat inscriptions seem to indicate that in the course of it the Kalacuris may have recovered some portions of Baghelkhand from the Candellas.

[1] It was first noticed by Cunningham, who also published a photozincograph of the record in *ASR*, Vol. IX. pp. 1 and 94 and plate II. It was next edited by Kielhorn in *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 211-13. For the words *Rājaputra* and *Mahārājaputra* as titles of officials see *ibid*. fn. 8 on p. 212.

[2] A transcript of the text together with a photolithograph of the inscription was published by Cunningham in his *ASR*, Vol. XXI, p. 116 and plate XXVIII. It was then edited by Kielhorn in *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 213-14.

of the Kalacuris of Ḍāhala.[1] The attack on Lāṭa, which now in the possession of the successors of Bārappa, was prob undertaken to recover his ancestral possessions on the west side. Bühler has expressed his doubts about the truth of report of Vākpati's fight with the Keralas and Colas. "It difficult to understand," says he, "how he could have come i contact with the latter two, whose countries lay at such a gr distance from Mālvā."[2] He may however have fought w these chiefs when he was engaged in his struggle w Tailapa, the Karṇāṭa king. Merutuṅga tells us tl Muñja had conquered Tailapa six times.[3] In the no and in the west Muñja's armies fought with t Caulukyas of Anahilwad, the Cāhamānas of Nadol, t Guhilas of Mewar and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Hathundi. T Sundha hill-inscription of the Marwar Cāhamāna Cāciga[4] te us that one of his predecessors, Balirāja, 'defeated an army Muñjarāja.' In his Bijapur stone-inscription dated in V. 1053 (A. D. 997),[5] the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhavala claims that gave 'shelter to the armies of (a king whose name is lost) and the lord of the Gūrjaras, when Muñjarāja had destroyed Āghāṭ the pride of Medapāṭa (Mewār) and caused them to flee.' T Gūrjara king was probably the Caulukya Mūlarāja (c. 961- A.D.)[7] while the other defeated prince whose name is lost m well have been one of the earlier Guhila princes of Mew possibly Śaktikumāra (977 A.D.), the son of Śalivāhana.[8]

Tradition also records that Vākpāti II was not only a su cessful military leader but also a poet and a generous patron

[1] See *DHNI*, Vol II, p. 769.

[2] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 228.

[3] *PC*, p 33. But according to the Bombay ed., p. 53, 'sixteen times,' see *EI*, Vol. p. 227; *BG*, Vol. I, Part 2, p. 432.

[4] *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 70 ff.

[5] *EI*, Vol. X, pp. 18 and 20-21, V. 10. See also *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 561.

[6] Mod. Ahar near the present Udaipur station from which the Guhilot clan Āhaḍi derives its name.

[7] Or his successor Cāmuṇḍarāja (c. 996-1010).

See *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II., chapters on the *Caulukyas* and the *Guhilas*.

tters. The Udaipur *praśasti* tells us that 'cultivating eloquence, high poetry and the art of reasoning,' he 'completely mastered the lore of the *Śāstras*' [1] Padmagupta calls him the 'root of (that) creeper of Paradise, Sarasvatī'; he adds that 'after Vikramāditya departed, after Sātavāhana went, divine Sarasvatī found rest with this friend of poets.' [2] Apart from the verses ascribed to this king in the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* and the *Bhoja-prabandha*, which Bühler regards as 'suspicious,' the anthologies and works on *Alaṁkāra* occasionally quote verses of this prince, 'which show that he possessed some talent.'[3] Padmagupta, *alias* Parimala, the author of the *Navasāhasāṅka-carita*, Dhanañjaya, the author of *Daśarūpa*, his brother Dhanika, the author of *Daśarūpāvaloka*, Halāyudha, the commentator on Piṅgala's work on metrics, and probably also Dhanapāla, the author of the *Pāiya-lacchi*, were among the ornaments that adorned the court of Vākpati-Muñja.[4]

According to Merutuṅga, the brilliant reign of Vākpati met with a tragic end. He tells us that "as the king of the Telinga country, named Tailapadeva, harassed Muñja, by sending raiders into his country, he determined to march against him, though his prime minister (*Mahāmātya*) Rudrāditya, who was seized with illness, endeavoured to dissuade him. The minister conjured him to make the river Godāvarī the utmost limit of his expedition, and not to advance beyond it; but he looked upon Tailapa with contempt, as he had conquered him six times before; so in his overweening confidence he crossed the river and pitched his camp on the other side.[5] When

[1] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 235 and 237, V. 13.

[2] *Ibid*, pp. 227-28. *Atīte Vikramāditye gate' stam Sātavāhane,*
Kavi-mitre viśaśrāma yasmin devī Sarasvatī. (XI, 93.)

[3] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 227.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] That the Paramāra dominions sometimes really extended beyond the Godavari in the south is proved by the recent discovery, near Adilabad in the Nizam's dominions, of the dated inscription of the Paramāra feudatory Arjuna. See *Annual Report, Hyderabad Archaeological Survey*, 1337 F. (1927-28), pp. 23-24. See also *ibid*, *Appendix*, p. 21.

Rudrāditya heard what the king had done, he augured that some mischief would result from his headstrong conduct and he himself entered the flames of a funeral pile. Then Tailapa by force and fraud cut Muñja's army to pieces and took king Muñja prisoner, binding him with a rope of reed (*muñja*). He was put in prison and confined in a cage o' wood and waited upon by Tailapa's sister Mṛṇālavatī, with whom he formed a marriage-union. His ministers, who had arrived subsequently, dug a tunnel to the place where he was, and made an appointment with him." The story next proceeds to relate that Muñja urged by his love to Mṛṇālavatī, revealed his plans to her, and the latter betrayed him to her brother. As a result of this Tailapa 'had him bound with cords and taken about to beg from house to house' for his food. " Then the king had Muñja put to death and his head fixed on a stake in the courtyard of the palace, and by keeping it continually covered with thick sour milk, he gratified his anger." [1] Though this story reads like a romance and its details are probably worthless as sources of history, yet there is no doubt that the main fact recorded in it is true. That Vākpati had really a minister named Rudrāditya is proved by his Ujjain grant, where a person of that name is mentioned as the *Dāpaka* residing at the *Mahārijaya-skandhārāra* at Guṇapura in A.D. 980. The fact that Vākpati lost his life in a war against the Cālukya Tailapa is attested by the records of the Kalyani dynasty. Two inscriptions of Vikramāditya VI (*c.* 1055-1126) tell us that Taila II killed the valiant Muñja.[2] The *Ain-i-Akbarī* also records the tradition that Muñja 'ended his life in the wars of the Deccan.' [3] The date of this event has been fixed with tolerable certainty by Bühler.[4] As the colophon of Amitagati's *Subhāṣita-ratna-saṁdoha* states that it was composed during the reign of Muñja in V. S. 1050 (A. D. 993-94), and as

[1] *PC*, pp. 33-36.
[2] *IA*, Vol. XXI, pp. 167-68.
[3] *AAK*. Vol. 2, p. 216.
[4] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 298.

Tailapa II himself died in Śaka 919 (A.D. 997-98), it is certain that Muñja's death must have occurred between *c*. 993-94 and 997-98 A. D. The same scholar also suggested that 'the beginning of Vākpati's reign is probably not far distant from A. D. 974, the date of his first land grant.'

Padmagupta tells us that 'Vākpati placed the earth in Sindhurāja's arms when he started for Ambikā's town.[1] Considering the manner of Vākpati's death, this may indicate that Sindhurāja had become anointed as *Yuvarāja* some time before Vākpati's fatal expedition to the Godavari valley. The Jain Prabandhas however assert that Muñja was succeeded not by Sindhurāja but by the latter's younger son Bhoja. Thus Merutuṅga tells us that Muñja's younger brother named 'Sīndhala[2] out of high spirit, disobeyed the orders of Muñja; accordingly he banished him from his kingdom, and so ruled for a long time. That Sīndhala came to Gujarāt, and established his settlement (*pallī*) in the neighbourhood of Kāśahrada.'[3] While living there he was told by a ghost that king Muñja's destruction was drawing near and that the sceptre should descend into his line. He was therefore bidden by the ghost to return to Mālava. 'Being thus sent by the ghost he went there, and received from king Muñja a certain district, which brought him in revenue, but again displaying haughtiness, he had his eyes put out by Muñja and was confined in a wooden cage. He begat a son named Bhoja.' When Bhoja grew up, Muñja became apprehensive owing to the forecast of astrologers that his nephew was destined to rule 'Dakṣiṇāpatha with Gauḍa' for fifty-five years and three days; and fearing that if Bhoja lived, his own son would not inherit the kingdom, he ordered him to be put to death. But before the execution could take place, a verse from his nephew

[1] XI, 98.

[2] A Prakrit hypocoristic form of the name Sindhurāja, sometimes also Sindhula ; see *EI*, Vol. I, p. 228.

[3] Forbes suggested 'probably Kāsindra Pālaree about 14 miles from Ahmedabad'; *Ras*, Vol. II, p. 85.

induced Muñja to change his decision and honour him 'with the dignity of crown prince.' When the news of Muñja's death reached Mālava the ministers placed Bhoja on the throne.[1] Though Bühler has doubted [2] it, it is not impossible that these stories may have been based on possible differences between Muñja and Sindhurāja, a phenomenon not at all unusual in Indian history. But the further statement of Merutuṅga that Sīndhala was blinded and was passed over in the succession by his son Bhoja is certainly untrue, for it is contradicted not only by Padmagupta but also by epigraphic evidence. The Udaipur *praśasti* distinctly states that Vākpati was succeeded by his younger brother (*anuja*) Sindhurāja.[3] The same inscription gives him credit for having conquered a Hūṇa king (*rāja*) and gained glory by other victories. But naturally a fuller account of his career is supplied by the *Navasāhasāṅka-carita*. According to the author of this *Kāvya*, Sindhurāja was also known as Navasāhasāṅka[4] and Kumāranārayaṇa. He had a minister (*sacira*) named Yaśobhata, *alias* Rāmāṅgada. The poem opens with a description of the city of Ujjayinī.[5] The author devotes his main attention to the description of the incidents which led to his hero's marriage with Śaśiprabhā, daughter of the Nāga king Śaṅkhapāla. To obtain his object he had to kill the Asura Vajrāṅkuśa, whose capital we are told was situated 'fifty *garyūtis* from the Narmadā.' In his struggle against the demon prince the king

[1] *PC*, pp. 31-33 and 36.

[2] His doubts were mainly based on Padmagupta's silence and his statement: 'When his Majesty Vākpati was about to ascend to heaven, he placed a seal (*mudrā*) on my song. Sindhurāja, the younger brother of that brother of poets, now breaks it.' 'Had the brothers been deadly enemies,' says he, 'Padmagupta would certainly have been left in obscurity after his first patron's death' (*EI*, Vol. I, p. 230). But I do not see any reason why Sindhurāja, even if he was inimical to Vākpati, should have refused to patronise his brother's court poet when the latter was willing to write the eulogy of the new king by composing a *Navasāhasāṅka-carita*, in which Vākpati's victories are passed over in silence while those of Sindhurāja are exaggerated.

[3] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 235 and 237, V. 16.

[4] Sometimes *Navīnasāhasāṅka*, VI, 11.

[5] The city of Dhārā is also mentioned in the poem as *aparā purī*.

had the Vidyādharas as his allies. The story is mainly mythical ; but Bühler long ago perceived that it may have a historical basis. The Nāgas were a well-known ruling tribe who held principalities in Rajputana and Central India. The minute description of the distance of Vajrāṅkuśa's capital also leads us to suspect that he was probably a historical figure. But in the present state of our knowledge it is hopeless to try to identify the family or locate the principality of the enemies and allies of Sindhurāja. The passages which are of real historical importance occur in the tenth *sarga*.[1] Here we are told that Sindhurāja gained victories over the Hūṇa king (*nṛpati*) and the rulers of Vāgaḍa, Murala, Lāṭa, and Kosala. Of these the first, as we have seen, is also mentioned by the Udaipur *praśasti*, and can therefore be accepted as a fact. It is however impossible to locate the area over which the Hūṇa chief ruled. Vāgaḍa, as Bühler pointed out, roughly correspond to modern Dungarpur State in Southern Rajputana.[2] As the region round about Dungarpur was the stronghold of a branch of the Paramāra stock, it is not unlikely that Parimala was referring to a conflict with some representative of the Banswara branch of that family. The Surat grant of Kīrtirāja,[3] dated in Śaka 940 (*c.* 1018), shows that Sindhurāja's opponent in Lāṭa was probably this grandson of Bārappa. In fighting against Kosala Sindhurāja was carrying on the policy of Vākpati II. The Kosala king against whom Sindhurāja made war was most probably the Kalacuri Kokalla II,[4] the son of Yuvarāja II, the contemporary and rival of Vākpati II. Sindhurāja's struggle with the Muralas, if the latter are located near Kerala,[5] looks rather improbable. But,

1 X, 14-20.

2 Ojha however holds that the whole area now occupied by Dungarpur and Banswara is known as Vāgaḍa; see *HR*, II, 458.

3 *WZKM*, 1893, Band VII, pp. 88-89. See also *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*.

4 See *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 771.

5 See my chapter on the *Later Gurjara-Pratīhāras*, *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 576, fn. 1. Muralā is identified by some with Narmadā. Can Muralas mean the tribes living on the Narmadā ?

as Bühler long ago suggested, this statement probably vaguely refers to a continuation of the conflicts with the Cāḷukyas of Kalyani.[1]

No inscriptions have so far been discovered for the reign of Sindhurāja. As the exact date of his successor's accession is also unknown, it is difficult to fix his reign period. From the number of victories ascribed to Sindhurāja in the *Navasāhasāṅka-carita*, Bühler guessed that the Paramāra prince must have reigned at least seven or eight years before the poem was composed. As Vākpati II died between 994 and 997 A.D. he assumed that the poem was composed about the middle of the first decade of the 11th century. 'How much longer Sindhurāja may have reigned, cannot be determined at present.'[2]

Sindhurāja was succeeded by his son Bhojadeva.[3] The following inscriptions are known for his reign :

(1) *Banswara grant* —Originally found in the possession of the widow of a *ṭhaṭherā* (coppersmith) living at Banswara, in Southern Rajputana. The exact find-spot is not known. It contains thirty-two lines incised on two copper plates, held together by a ring. At the end of the grant, at the left-hand side of the second plate, in a rectangular border, there is the usual flying figure of Garuḍa, holding a snake in his left hand. The inscription opens with two verses invoking the god Śiva (*Vyōmakeśa*, *Smarārāti*), and then traces the genealogy of the Paramāras from *Pb.-M.-P.*- Sīyakadeva (II) to *Pb.-M.-P.*-Bhojadeva. It then records that the last prince, 'at the anniversary[4] of the conquest of Koṅkaṇa' (*Koṁkaṇa-vijaya-parvaṇi*), having worshipped *Bhavānīpati* (Śiva), granted 100 *nivartanas* of land at

[1] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 229. Dr. Barnett doubts the correctness of this suggestion of Bühler.

[2] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 230.

[3] He appears to have had the *biruda* Tribhuvana-Nārāyaṇa. Bhoja built a temple of Tribhuvana-Nārāyaṇa in Citrakūṭa-durga (Chitor in Udaipur State) : see the Chirwa inscription of Guhila Samarasiṁha (V.S. 1330). *WZKM*, Vol. XXI, pp. 142 ff.

[4] *Parvaṇi* may also be translated as 'on the *festival* day,' *IA*, 1912, p. 201.

Vaṭapadraka,[1] included in the Ghāghradora-*bhoga* of Sthalī-*maṇḍala*, to the Brāhman Bhāïla, whose ancestors had emigrated from Chiñchā-*nagara*. The date is given in line 31 as (V.) *Saṁvat* 1076 Māgha Sudi 5 (3rd January, A.D. 1020). The writing in both the plates end with the sign-manual of Bhojadeva.[2]

(2) *Betma grant.*—Found buried in a field at the village of Beṭmā, 16 miles to the west of Indore in Central India. It contains 27 lines, incised on two copper plates, held together by a ring. The second plate contains, like No. 1, a flying figure of Garuḍa holding a snake. The introductory portion is as in No. 1. In the formal part of the grant we are told that Bhojadeva, on the occasion of the festival day of the victorious occupation[3] of Koṅkaṇa (*Koṁkaṇa-grahaṇa-vijaya-parvaṇi*), granted the village of Nālataḍāga,[4] included in Nyāyapadra[5]-*saptadaśaka*, to the Brāhman *Paṇḍita* Delha, who came from Sthāṇvīśvara. It is dated in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1076, the 15th day of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada (September, 1020 A.D.).[6]

(3) *Ujjain grant.*—Discovered by a farmer while digging in his field, which adjoins a small stream called Nāgajhari at Ujjain. It contains 31 lines, incised on two plates. Figure of Garuḍa as in No. 1. The introductory portion as in the two grants mentioned above. It records that when Bhojadeva was residing at Dhārā, he granted the village of Vīrāṇaka, situated in the Nāgadraha-*paścima-pathaka*, to the Brāhman Dhanapati Bhaṭṭa of the Karṇāṭa (country), an emigrant from Bādāvi attached to Belluvalla.[7] The date is given in lines 30-31 as (V.) *Saṁvat* 1078 (*c.* 1022 A.D.).[8]

1 Identified by some with mod. Baroda.

2 Edited by Hultzsch, *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 181-83; also by D. R. Bhandarkar, *IA*, 1912, pp. 201-02.

3 According to some 'subjugation,' *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 324.

4 May be mod. Nār (Nāl) in the Kaira District, *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 322.

5 May be mod. town of Nāpad, in the Kaira District, to the S.W. of Indore, *ibid.*

6 Edited by Diskalkar, *EI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 320-25.

7 The editor wrongly translated the passage as ' Who being an inhabitant of Bādhā ... Karṇāṭa.' But see Fleet, *IA*, 902, p. 365. Belluvalla was situated close to Badami.

8 Edited by Kirtane (N. J.), *IA*, Vol. VI, pp. 53-55.

(4) *Depalpur grant.*—Found at Depalpur. 24 miles to the north-west of Indore (C. I.). It contains 30 lines incised on two copper plates held together by two copper rings. Flying figure of Garuḍa and the introductory portion as in No. 1 above. It records that the last prince after taking his bath in the expiation-fee (in the form of a river) for the slaughter of animals[1] and having worshipped the *Bhavānīpati* (Śiva) while residing at Dhārā,[2] granted 34 *aṁśas* of level land (*prastha*),[3] furnished with 4 ploughs (*halacatuṣṭayasaṁvṛttaṁ*) at Kirikaikā[4] in the western *Pathaka* of Ujjayinī to the Brāhman Vacchala, who had migrated from Mānyakheṭa.[5] The grant is dated in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1079 on Caitra Sudi 14 (19th March, 1022 A.D.). The writing on both the plates end (as in No. 1 above) with the sign-manual of Bhojadeva.[6]

(5) *Kalvan plates of Yaśovarman.*—Discovered in the village near Kalvan, in the N. W. of Nasik District, Bombay Presidency. It contains 45 lines, incised on three plates of copper. The grant opens with an eulogy of the Paramāra[7] Bhojadeva of Dhārā and his ancestry from Sīyakadeva (II). We are then told that through Bhoja's favour the illustrious Yaśovarman had obtained the town (*nagara*) of Selluka and was enjoying 1,500 villages. The inscription then records that in the (village) Muktāpalī in the Auḍrahāḍi-*viṣaya*, the *Sāmanta*, the illustrious *Rāṇaka* Amma of the Gaṅga family, being convinced of the excellence of the *Jina-dharma* from the teachings of the Svetāmbara *ācārya* Ammadeva, gave some land at Mahiṣabuddhikā,

[1] The editor plausibly suggests that this must indirectly refer to the river Carmaṇvatī (mod. Chambal). See in this connection the story of king Rantideva, *Mahābhārata*, *Droṇaparva*, 67. *IHQ*, 1932, pp. 308-09.

[2] Modern Dhar, capital of the Dhar State, C. I.

[3] I am not sure that *prastha* here does not mean a measure of land.

[4] Modern village of Kirki in the Depalpur Pargana on the Chambal about 6 miles from Depalpur.

[5] Modern Malkhed.

[6] Edited with plates by R. G. Ojha, *IHQ*, June, 1932, pp. 305-15. Note author's remarks on the numeral signs—the figure 7 (in the date, line 29), *ibid*, p. 308.

[7] In the original plate *Pravāmra*, probably a mistake for *Pramāra*.

at the holy *tīrtha* of Kālakāleśvara.[1] The grant was made by Amma on the occasion of a solar eclipse and the *amāvāsya* day of the month of Caitra, after having washed the feet of (the *ācārya* ?) with water thrown from the hands of his wife *rājñī* Caccāī of the Cālukya family. This land measured 40 *nivartanas*. A second piece of land measuring 25 *nivartanas* was given by *Rāja* Kakkapāi. A third piece of land measuring 35 *nivartanas*, a flower-garden measuring 2 *nivartanas*, 2 oil-mills (*taila-ghāṇaka*), 14 shops (*Vaṇik-haṭṭāḥ*), and 14 *drammas* were given by the commercial community consisting of Vakaaigala and others.[2] The donee apparently was the temple of the Jina in the Śvetapada[3] (country), which was thoroughly repaired and dedicated (*nivedita*) to the illustrious *Muni* Suvratadeva. The grant was written by *Sāndhivigrahika* Jogeśvara. It is not dated in any era.[4]

(6) *British Museum image-inscription.*—Ani image of Sarasvatī, dated in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1091 (A.D. 1034-35) n the reign of Bhoja.[5]

(7) *Tilakwada grant.*—Found at Tilakwada, in the bed of the river Narbada, the headquarters of a *mahal* contiguous to that of Sankheda in the Baroda Prānt, Baroda State. The grant originally consisted of 3 plates, of which the first, containing the greater part of the introductory portion, is missing. The present portion of the grant practically begins with: 'From him (Sindhurāja ?) was born Bhojadeva.' We are then introduced

[1] Identified with the temple of Kālakāleśvara, which still exists about 10 miles from Kalvan. *EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 70.

[2] The editor translates *Vakaaigala prabhṛti-nagarena* as 'Vakaaigala and others of the town.' But Dr. Barnett points out that *nagara* is a regular term in the south for a 'commercial community.'

[3] Identified with the northern portion of Nasik district, *ibid*.

[4] Edited by R. D. Banerji, *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 69-75. The editor's arguments that the grant must be referred to the period of confusion after the death of Bhoja do not appear to me to be convincing. I agree with Hiranande Sastri that Yaśovarman was a feudatory of Bhoja (*ibid*, p. 72, fn. 1) at the time of the grant. See also Diskalkar, *EI*, Vol. XVIII, 320, fn. 3.

[5] Noticed in *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 320, fn. 8. Transcribed by Dikshit, *Rūpam*, 1924, p. 2.

to the *Narottama* (prince ?) Surāditya (Sūrāditya) of the Śravaṇabhadra-*vaṁśa*, who came from Kanyakubja and was a devotee of the lotus-like feet of Bhoja.[1] His son Jasorāja (Yasorāja), who resided in Saṅgamakheṭa-*maṇḍala*, having bathed in the Narmadā in V. S. 1103 (*c.* 1047 A.D.), in the temple of Śiva Maheśvara, situated at the confluence of the (river) Maṇā, granted to the god Ghaṇṭeśvara, the village of Viluhaja and also a hundred (measures) of land in the village of Ghaṇṭāpallī. The sage Dinakara was appointed a trustee for the administration of the endowment. The grant was written by the *Kāyastha* Sohka.[2]

The dates in the inscriptions noticed above range from V.S. 1076 to 1103, *i.e.*, from about 1020 to 1047 A.D. Two more dates for Bhoja's reign within these limits are supplied by literary tradition. One of these is supplied by al-Bīrūnī, who records that in *c.* 1030 A.D., when he composed his *Indica*, the king of Dhārā, the capital of Mālava, was Bhojadeva.[3] Another date, Śaka 964 (A.D. 1042-43), is supplied by the *Rājamṛgāṅka-karaṇa*.[4] Bühler, chiefly relying on the statement of Bilhaṇa that on his journey from Kashmir to various places in Northern India Dhārā cried out to him 'Bhoja is my king,'[5] placed the death of Bhoja sometime after the year 1062 A.D.[6] But the Mandhata grant of his successor Jayasiṁha shows that he must have died in or before V.S. 1112 (A.D. 1055-56).[7] The upper limit is more difficult to settle. The fact that his Banswara plates show that he had already conquered Konkan in 1020 A.D. certainly indicates that he ascended the throne some time before that date. Bühler has pointed out from the Cālukya records that Bhoja fought with

1 He is said to have fought with Sahavâhana (?) and others and made the royal glory of Bhojadeva stable. *EI*, Vol. XIX, *Appendix*, p. 21, No. 128.

2 Edited by Kudalkar, *PTOC*, Poona, 1919, pp. 319-26.

3 *KH*, Trans. by Sachau, Vol. I, p. 191.

4 *EI*, Vol. I, p. 232.

5 *Vikramāṅkadeva-carita*, XVIII, 96.

6 *EI*, Vol. I, p. 233.

7 *EI*, Vol. III, pp. 46 ff.

the Cāḷukya Jayasiṁha some time between Śaka 933 (1011-12 A.D.) and Śaka 941 (A.D. 1019-20). As Padmagupta, who probably composed his work in *c.* 1005, does not refer to Bhoja, Bühler thought that Bhoja at that time had not reached the age of 16, the Indian age of majority. He therefore concluded that Bhoja's accession must fall *c.* 1010 A.D., or even somewhat later.[1] With this conclusion most scholars agree.

The Paramāra inscriptions are unanimous in praising Bhoja's great military talents. Thus the Udaipur *praśasti* tells us that he resembled king Pṛthu and "possessed the earth up to Kailāsa, up to the Malaya hills, and up to the two mountains of the setting and the rising sun ; he scattered in all directions the weighty crowd of earth-supporters (*urvībhara*), easily uprooting them with the shaft of his bow. Seeing the Karṇāṭas, the lords of Lāṭa, the king of Gūrjara, the Turuṣkas, chief among whom were the lord of Cedi, Indraratha,[2] Toggala[3] (?) and Bhīma, conquered by his mercenaries (*bhṛtya*)[4] alone, his hereditary warriors (*maula*)[5] thought only of the strength of their arms, not of the numbers of their fighters."[6] The Dhar *praśasti* of Arjunavarman designates Bhoja as a *Sārvabhauma*, and gives him credit for having defeated Gāṅgeya, the Kalacuri king of Tripurī[7] (*c.* 1030-41 A.D.). It is true there is much exaggeration in these statements of the *praśasti*-writers. But epigraphic evidence shows that there is a substantial basis for ascribing to Bhoja many of these conquests. The war with the Karṇāṭas was only another episode in the struggle which had taken so disastrous a turn

1 *EI*, Vol. I. pp. 232-33.

2 Kielhorn identifies him with the prince of the same name who was defeated by Rajendra Coḷa I, in his northern expedition (*EI*, IX, 229 ff.); *ibid*, p. 230; see *List of Southern Inscriptions*, p. 120, note 3; also *MASI*, No. 23, p. 18.

3 Not identified.

4 On this word see my *Notes on War in Ancient India*, *JL*, 1937, Vol. XIV, pp. 24ff.

5 *Ibid.*

6 *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 235 and 237, Vs. 17 and 19.

7 The *Pārijātamañjarī or Vijaya-śrī* of Madana; see *EI*, Vol. VIII, p. 101, line 2, V. 3; p. 102, line 7; also p. 98. See also *supra*, *DHN*, Vol. II, p. 774.

in the reign of Vākpati II, and which was to prove in the end equally disastrous to Bhoja. But in the beginning of his reign Bhoja appears to have retaliated with success, and may have even avenged the death of Muñja. Merutuṅga refers to a story in which Bhoja, while attending a dramatic performance in which Tailapa II, was represented as imprisoned, was so stung by the sarcasm [1] of Ḍāmara, an emissary of the Caulukya king Bhīma I, that he at once 'proceeded to march to the country of Telinga.' [2] The same story, with additions, is found in the *Bhoja-carita*, which tells us that Bhoja 'captured Tailapa, subjected him to the same indignities to which Muñja had been subjected, and finally executed him.' [3] Sir R. G. Bhandarkar suggests that, as Tailapa was dead before Bhoja ascended the throne, his name is probably a mistake for Vikramāditya I,[4] of whom we know so little and put him to death.[5] Several scholars have recently agreed with this conclusion of Bhandarkar.[6] Whatever may be the value of this guess, it is certain that Bhoja gained some substantial successes against the Cāḷukyas of Kalyani before the Saka year 941 (A.D. 1019). For the Balagamve stone-inscription of that date of the time of Jayasiṁha (*c*. 1018-42 A.D.) claims that he was 'a moon to the lotus which was king Bhoja,' *i.e.*, he 'took away the glory of Bhoja just as the moon causes the water-lilies

[1] He reminded Bhoja that Tailapa 'is recognised by having the head of king Muñja fixed on a stake'; *PC*, p. 45.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 214.

[4] Vikramāditya V (*c*. 1009-11 A.D.) according to Fleet's list, see *ibid*, table facing p. 428.

[5] *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 214. *Bhoja-carita* of Rajavallabha, I, 50-56.

[6] See *IA*, 1919, pp. 117-18; *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 321. Ojha however, relying on a verse (I, 88) of *Vikramāṅkadeva-carita* which states that Jayasiṁha 'received a garland, culled from the Pārijāta tree, from Indra's own hands,' concludes that it was this prince who was killed by Bhoja. But see Venkatarama Ayyar, in *IA*, 1919, p. 118, fn. 54, where he argues that since in Hindu mythology it is usually the *Apsarases* and not Indra that are said to garland those who die on the battlefield, Jayasiṁha could not have died on the field of battle. But note *EI*, Vol. II, p. 192, where Bhoja, who possibly died fighting, is referred to as having become Indra's companion.

that bloom in the daytime to close their flowers at night.'[1] The same inscription also claims that Jayasiṁha 'searched out and beset and pursued and ground down and put to flight the confederacy of Māḷava.'[2] There is no evidence to show who were the princes that were included in this 'confederacy of Māḷava.' The claim that the Cāḷukya king completely destroyed the power of Bhoja is most probably mere *praśasti*. That his success could not have been substantial is shown by the first three grants of the time of Bhoja. The first records the celebration of the festival-day of the conquest of Konkan in January 1020 A.D., which shows that the actual conquest must have taken place either in January 1019, or even earlier. The second grant, about 8 months later, again records gifts on the festival day of the victorious occupation of Konkan. That these are not mere vain boasts is shown by the Kalvan plates of his feudatory Yaśovarman, who appears to have held sway in the Nasik district, bordering on Konkan.[3] Unfortunately this inscription is not dated in any era. But that the struggle continued unabated on this frontier till at least Śaka 946 (A.D. 1024) is indicated by the Miraj plates of Jayasiṁha where he claims to have taken away everything belonging to the rulers of the seven-Koṅkaṇas (*Sapta-Koṅkaṇādhiśvarāṇām sarvasam gṛhītvā*).[4] Bhoja's success however was not permanent. The *Vikramāṅkadeva-carita* tells us that Āhavamalla (Someśvara I, *c.* 1044-68 A.D.) 'stormed Dhārā, the capital of the Paramāras in Māḷava, from which Bhoja had to flee.'[5] The Nagpur *praśasti* of Naravarman (V. S. 1161)

[1] *IA*, Vol. V, p. 17; *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 436

[2] *IA*, Vol. V, p. 17

[3] Note in this connection the indirect evidence of the Jainad inscription of a Paramāra feudatory of Udayāditya in the Warangal Division of Hyderabad. *Annual Report, Hyderabad Archaeological Survey*, 1927-28, pp. 23-24.

[4] *IA*, Vol. VII, pp. 18-19 and fn. 99 on p. 18. Fleet takes the passage as referring to 'the lords of the seven Koṅkaṇas.' But Sir R. G. Bhandarkar accepts it as referring to 'the ruler of the seven Koṅkaṇas.' See *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 218 and 436. But as *adhīśvarāṇām* is in the plural, Fleet seems to be right.

[5] I, 91-96.

makes it clear that the success of the Karṇāṭas was due to their alliance with the powerful Kalacuri king Karṇa.[1] The mention of Karṇa in this Nagpur inscription as one of the forces that brought about Bhoja's downfall shows that the Udaipur *praśasti* was right in mentioning the *Cedīśvara* as one of the adversaries of the Paramāra king. The same inscription also refers to the *Gurjara -rāṭ* as another enemy of Bhoja. There is little doubt that this Gurjara prince is to be identified with Bhīma I, who is mentioned in the same verse as one of the chief enemies of Bhoja, the other being the 'lord of Cedi.' Merutuṅga records stories of many conflicts between Bhīma and Bhoja. On one occasion, we are told, Bhoja's general, the Digambara Kulacandra, taking advantage of Bhīma's absence in Sindh, 'sacked the city of Anahilla, and having caused cowries to be sown at the gate of the clock-tower of the palace, extorted a record of victory.'[2] On another occasion when worshipping his family goddess in a temple in the suburbs of Dhārā, Bhoja was surprised and nearly captured by a party of Gujarati cavalry.[3] The Jain chroniclers are agreed that Bhoja died during a joint attack on Dhārā by the Caulukya Bhīma I, and Karṇa, king of Ḍāhala.[4] Thus it seems that as an answer to the 'confederacy of Mālava,' the enemies of the Paramāras succeeded in forming another league, in which the Caulukya Bhīma, the Kalacuri Lakṣhmī Karṇa, and the Calukya Someśvara were the chief partners. This league may have also included the Lāṭa prince Trilocanapāla, for whom we have the date Śaka 972 (*c.* 1051 A.D.). In the struggle that followed Bhoja was overwhelmed and lost his life when Karṇa's armies stormed the gates of Dhārā.[5] Bhoja's military activities were however not confined only to fighting with these adversaries. Before the Kalacuris of Tripurī could raise

[1] *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 185 and 192, V. 32.

[2] *PC*, p. 46.

[3] *PC*, pp. 70-71.

[4] See *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapters on the *Haihayas* and the *Caulukyas*.

[5] *PC*, pp. 74-75. Bühler doubts the historicity of the Bhīma I-Karṇa combination against Bhoja. *EI*, Vol. I, p. 282, fn. 47.

themselves into a position of importance on his eastern frontier and bring about his downfall, Bhoja had been maintaining contact with the Candellas of Bundelkhand and their allies the Kacchapaghātas of the Gwalior Residency. The statement in the Candella inscriptions that Bhoja worshipped Vidyādhara 'full of fear like a pupil,' shows that the relation between the two princes were probably not very friendly.[1] The victory claimed by Kīrtirāja, one of the Gwalior Kacchapaghātas (*c*. 1015-35 A.D.) of whom the Sasbahu temple inscription of Mahīpāla records that he conquered the countless hosts of Mālava, was probably gained with the assistance of his sovereign, the Candella Vidyādhara. I have elsewhere suggested that the defeated Mālava prince was possibly the Paramāra Bhoja.[2] The statement of the Dubkund inscription of the Kaccapaghāta Vikramasiṁha that the "highly intelligent king, the illustrious Bhoja" had widely celebrated the skill shown in the management of horses and chariots of Abhimanyu (*c*. 1035-44 A.D.), one of his predecessors, may, as I have already suggested, contain a veiled hint of his subservience to the great Paramāra.[3] Bhoja possibly succeeded in extending his influence in the Kunu valley by taking advantage of the weakness of Vidyādhara's successors. It was prabably in this region that Bhoja met and defeated some detachment of the Turuṣka prince Maḥmūd of Ghazni, when the latter invaded Gwalior and Bundelkhand. In the N. W. Bhoja, following the policy of Muñja, maintained his pressure on the Cāhamānas of Nadol and the Guhilas of Medapāṭa. This is proved by the statement of the Sundha hill-inscription, which informs us that Aṇahilla slew Sāḍha, a general (*daṇḍ-ādhīśa*) of the Mālava king Bhoja.[4] The Chirwa inscription of the Guhila Samarasiṁha (V. S. 1330) indicates that Bhoja was in possession of the fort of Citrakūṭa (Chitor) and built there a

[1] See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 689.
[2] See *ibid*, Vol. II, p. 821.
[3] *Ibid*, pp. 830-31.
[4] *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 70 ff.

temple to Tribhuvana-Nārāyana.[1] It was probably for his assistance during these campaigns that the Banswara Paramāra Satyarāja received a fortune from Bhoja.[2]

Apart from all these military campaigns Bhoja is probably best remembered by his achievements in the domain of art and letters. The Udaipur *praśasti* calls him a king among poets (*kavirāja*),[3] and states that 'he made the world worthy of its name by covering it all round with temples, dedicated to Kedāreśvara, Rāmeśvara, Somanātha, Suṁḍīra (?), Kāla, Anala and Rudra.'[4] Bühler has pointed out[5] that his claim to literary merit is amply corroborated by the discovery of numerous works in poetics, astronomy, philosophy, architecture, and poetry which all bear the name of *Mahārājādhirāja* Bhoja and are said to have been written by him, no doubt with the assistance of the numerous scholars who flourished under his patronage. An analysis of the list of publications ascribed to Bhoja in Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*[6] shows that besides the above subjects there are other works on medicine, grammar,

[1] *WZKM*, Vol. XXI, pp. 142 ff.; see also *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Guhila-putras*.

[2] *RMR*, 1917, pp. 2-3.

[3] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 235, V. 18.

[4] *Ibid*, pp. 235 and 238, V. 20.

[5] *Ibid*, pp. 231-32.

[6] Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Part I, p. 418, and Part II, p. 95. As a medical writer Bhoja is quoted in the *Bhāva-prakāśa* and Mādhava's *Rug-viniścaya*. As a grammarian and lexicographer he is noticed by Kṣīrasvāmin, Sāyaṇa, and Mahīpa. The folllowing list of Bhoja's work are given by Aufrecht and Bühler :

(1) *Āditya-pratāpa-siddhānta*. (2) *Āyurveda-sarvasva*. (3) *Campū-rāmāyaṇa*. (4) *Cāṇakya-nīti*. (5) *Cāru-caryā*. (6) *Tattva prakāśa*. (7) *Nāma-mālikā*. (8) *Yukti kalpataru*. (9) *Rāja-mārtaṇḍa Yoga-sūtra-vṛtti*. (10) *Rāja-mṛgāṅka*. (11) *Vidyā-vinoda-kārya*. (12) *Vidvaj-jana-vallabha Praśna-jñāna*. (13) *Viśrānta vidyā vinoda*. (14) *Vyavahāra samuccaya*. (15) *Śabdānuśāsana*. (16) *Śālihotra*. (17) *Śiva-tattva ratna-kalikā*. (18) *Samarāṅgana-sutradhāra*. (19) *Sarasvati-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*. (20) *Siddhānta-saṁgraha*. (21) *Subhāṣita-prabandha*. (22) *Praśna-cintāmaṇi Vidvaj-jana-vallabha*. (23) *Bhojarāja-vārttika*. (24) *Śṛṅgāra-mañjarī-kathā*. (25) *Rāja-mārtaṇḍa* (*Jyotiṣa*). (26) *Rāja-mārtaṇḍa*. (*Vedānta* ?).

To these must be added the *Kūrma-Śataka*, two Prakrit poems, each of 109 stanzas addressed to the tortoise-incarnation of Viṣṇu. They were discovered at Dhār, written with great care on a stone slab. Edited by Pischel. *EI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 241-60. No. 18 above has now been edited by Ganapati Sastri in *GOS*.

and lexicography which are attributed to the pen of the Paramāra king. It is true that all these works were probably largely written by the literary men living in his court; but a prince who had such wide sympathies and could inspire scholarship in so many varied fields of knowledge must ever remain a remarkable personality in the records of time. There is little evidence available to corroborate the extensive building operations which are ascribed to Bhoja in the Udaipur *praśasti*; but as Bühler has remarked 'it is very probable that a prince so fond of display as he was adorned his capital and perhaps even foreign sacred places with architectural monuments.' But of these, thanks no doubt largely to the iconoclastic zeal of the early Turkish conquerors, very few specimens have survived to our times.

I have already referred to Bhoja's tragic end. The Udaipur *praśasti* states that "when that devotee of Bharga (Śiva) whose brilliancy resembled the sun (*i.e.*, Bhoja), had gone to the mansion of the gods, the earth, like Dhārā, was filled with dense darkness, his foes (and) his hereditary warriors became infirm in body. Then arose king Udayāditya another sun, as it were, destroying the dense darkness, the exalted foes, with the rays issuing from his strong sword (and thus) gladdening the hearts of his people by his splendour."[1] The Nagpur *praśasti* in referring to the same incident states that when "he (Bhoja) had become Indra's companion and when the realm was overrun by floods, in which the sovereign was submerged, his relation Udayāditya became king. Delivering the earth, which was troubled by kings and taken possession of by Karṇa,[2] who, joined by the Karṇāṭas, was like the mighty ocean, this prince did indeed act like the holy boar."[3] According to both these inscriptions Udayāditya was the successor of Bhoja. But the Mandhata

1 *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 236 and 238, V. 21.

2 Dr. Ganguly identifies this prince with the *Caulukya* Karṇa (c. 1064-94 A.D.) because the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* (Vs. 76-78) states that Udayāditya obtained the crown of Mālava by defeating the Gurjjara Karṇa. Without accepting this identification it is possible to agree that Udayāditya had to fight with the successor of the Caulukya Bhīma, the enemy of Bhoja, before he could securely grasp the sceptre of the Paramāras.

3 *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 185 and 192, V. 32. See also *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 780.

and Panahera inscriptions of Jayasiṁha conclusively prove that during the period V.S. 1112-1116 the ruler of Mālava was not Udayāditya but Jayasiṁha. As the earliest date of Udayāditya is V.S. 1116,[1] there is no difficulty in fitting in the reign of Jayasiṁha between those of Bhoja and Udayāditya. Kielhorn has pointed out instances where predecessors are sometimes omitted in the genealogical lists of Indian inscriptions. But in this particular case, a strong motive for omission may have been the fact that Udayāditya usurped the Mālava crown by ousting the lawful successor of Bhoja. As to the relationship of Bhoja with Jayasiṁha we have only to depend upon the expression *pādānudhyāta*, which separates the latter's name from that of his predecessor. Though this word does not necessarily indicate the relationship of father and son, yet in this particular case, in view of the fact that Bhoja died at an advanced age, it is quite likely that he may have left Jayasiṁha as his son and successor.[2] The two following records are known for the reign of Jayasiṁha.

(1) *Mandhata grant*.—Found at Mandhata, an island in the Narbada, attached to the Nimar District of the C. P. It contains 30 lines, incised on two plates. At the end of the grant, on the left-hand corner of the second plate, is the usual figure of the flying Garuda holding a snake. The inscription opens with two verses praising Śiva (*Vyōmakeśa*, *Smarārāti*); then follows the genealogy of the donor, which is traced from Vākpatirājadeva (II). It then records that *Pb.-M.-P.* Jayasiṁhadeva, while residing at Dhārā, granted the village of Bhīma, included in the Muktula-*grāma-dvicatvāriṁśa* of Purṇapathaka-*maṇḍala*, to the Brahmans of the Paṭṭaśālā at the holy Amareśvara,[3] for food and other purposes. The date V.S. 1112

[1] *JASB*, Vol. IX, pp. 545 ff.

[2] The *PC* (p. 41) supplies the name of the poetess Arundhati as one of the queens of Bhoja. But it is unknown whether she or some other lady was the mother of Jayasiṁha.

[3] Same as Amareśvara-tīrtha of the Bhopal grant of Arjunavarman (V.S. 1272). It

(*c.* 1055-56), is given in line 29. It ends with the sign-manual of the donor.[1]

(2) *Panahera stone-inscription.*—Engraved on a slabbuilt into a wall of the temple of Maṇḍaleśvara (Mahādeva) at Panahera in the Banswara State, South Rajputana. The record is damaged. It belongs to the feudatory Paramāra branch of Banswara. But in the beginning, after 5 verses in praise of Śiva, it mentions the Paramāras of Malwa from Sīyaka II to Jayasiṁha. Then it traces the genealogy of the feudatory line from Dhanika to Maṇḍalika.[2] The latter was a contemporary of Jayasiṁha. The record is dated in V.S. 1116 (*c.* 1059-60 A.D.).[3]

Nothing is definitely known about Jayasiṁha's achievements. But if the Nagpur *praśasti* is to be believed, Jayasiṁha may have been compelled to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Kalacuri Lakṣmī-Karṇa. The country was unprotected, and became the happy hunting ground of the Karṇāṭa and other enemies. At least these were the pretexts which Udayāditya appears to have urged to support his apparent act of usurpation. Is it likely that Udayāditya succeeded in ousting his rival with the assistance of the Cālukyas of Kalyāni? The statement of Bilhaṇa that Āhavamalla 'utterly destroyed the power of Karṇa, the king of Ḍāhala,'[4] probably shows that the alliance between the Karṇāṭas and the Kalacuris did not long survive the fall of Bhoja. Indeed Merutuṅga's reference to a struggle between the Caulukya Bhīma I and Karṇa over the spoils of Dhārā,[5] may indicate the outbreak of a general war amongst the allies after the destruction of the Paramāra king. In this connection Bilhaṇa's statement that

is situated 'near the island of Māndhātā on the southern bank of the Narmadā'; *EI*, Vol. III, p. 47.

[1] Edited by Kielhorn. *EI*, Vol. III, pp. 46-50.

[2] For details see the history of Banswara branch, *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 920 ff.

[3] *ASI*, 1916-17, pp. 19-20. *RMR*, 1917, pp. 2-3.

[4] *Vikramāṅkadeva-carita*, I, 102-103.

[5] *PC*, pp. 74-75.

during the reign of Āhavamalla his son Vikramāditya 'lent his assistance to the king of Mālava, who came to him for protection, to regain his kingdom'[1] may be significant. The assistance was possibly given either to Udayāditya or more probably to his ousted rival Jayasiṁha.

For the reign of Udayāditya we have the following dates and records :

(1) A 'modern inscription' in vernacular at Udayapur, in Gwalior, gives the dates V. S. 1116 and Śaka 981 (corresponding to A.D. 1059-60), for the reign of Udayāditya and speaks of him as having built a temple of Śiva.[2]

(2) *Udayapur stone-inscription.*—'An apparently well preserved inscription inside the east entrance of the great temple' of Udayapur in Gwalior. It contains 6 lines. The inscription mentions king Udayāditya and gives the date (V.) *Saṁvat* 1137 (c. 1080-81 A D.). It was composed probably by *Paṇḍita* Mahīpāla.[3]

(3) *Jhalrapatan stone-inscription.*—Found at Jhalrapatan in the Jhalawar State, Rajputana. It records the erection of a temple of Śambhu by the *Paṭṭakila* (i.e., Paṭil), Jānā, belonging to the *tailika* (oilman's) family. It is dated in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1143 (c. 1086-87 A.D.) in the reign of Udayāditya.[4]

[1] *Vikramāṅkadeva-carita*, III, 67.

[2] Noticed by Captain Burt in *JASB*, Vol. VII, p. 1056; then edited in *ibid*, Vol. IX, pp 545-50. Also noticed in *ASI*, WC, 1918, p 37. Buhler was disposed to reject the date as spurious (*EI*, Vol. I, p. 233); but see Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol III, p 48, fn. 1. The date of the inscription is V.S. 1562 = S. 1429 = c. 1560 A D.

[3] Noticed by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XX, p. 83.

[4] Noticed in *ASI*, WC, 1906, p. 56. Edited by B. N. Shastri, *Journal* and *PASB*, Vol. X pp 241 ff., and Plate XXII. The ***Udayapur Praśasti*** of the Paramāras of Malwa, which is incised on a stone slab, 'at present lying in the courtyard of the great temple at Udayapur (Gwalior) may also belong to this prince. The record opens with verses in praise of Śiva, Pārvati, and Gaṇeśa, and may have recorded the erection of a Śaiva temple by Udayāditya. But unfortunately it is fragmentary; and though the last name in the preserved portion is that of Udayāditya we cannot be sure that the lost portion did not contain the name of one of his immediate successors. The record was first noticed by Dr. Hall in *JASB*, Vol. XXXI, p. 114, note, and was edited with a valuable introduction by Buhler in *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 222-38. It is one of the most important records for Paramāra history

The inscriptions noticed above give us dates from V. S. 1116 to 1143 (*c.* 1158-60 to 1187 A.D.). Udayāditya was probably closely related to the family of Jayasiṁha. In the Nagpur *praśasti* he is referred to as the relation (*bandhu*)[1] of Bhoja. In the recently discovered Jainad inscription the Paramāra prince Jagaddeva is described as the son of Udayāditya and paternal nephew of Bhoja.[2] Udayāditya therefore appears to have been probably a younger brother of Bhoja[3] and possibly an uncle of Jayasiṁha.

Besides his victory over Lakṣmī-Karṇa and his re-establishment of peace and prosperity in the land of Malwa, the only other definitely known incident of Udayāditya's reign was the marriage of his daughter Śyāmaladevī to the Gobhila-putra Vijayasiṁha. Alhaṇadevī, the daughter of Śyāmaladevī, was again married to the Ḍāhala Kalacuri Gayā-Karṇa[4] (1151 A.D.). The Jainad inscription contains the name of one of his officers, Lalārka *alias* Arjuna, belonging to the family of Dāhimas. He had a powerful army and was a celebrated warrior and a great favourite of Udayāditya. Tradition as recorded in the *Rasmala* seems to contain a few more facts about Udayāditya. Thus it refers to a 'Raja of Mandoogurh, whose service Oodayāditya performed' and on whom when summoned, he was in the habit of offering 'speedy attendance.' 'Mandoogurh' is certainly modern Mandu, situated about 14 miles to the south of Dhar, and it is not unlikely that the chief of Mandu was an officer of the great Cāḷukya king Vikramāditya VI (*c.* 1055-1126 A.D.), who in his father's reign may have been instrumental in placing Udayāditya on the throne of Dhārā. According to the

1 Also means a *brother*. In an unpublished Kumbhalgaḍh Inscription (V. 148) of the Guhila Kumbha's reign (1460 A.D.), *bandhu* is actually used in the sense of a uterine brother, see *Udaypur Rājyaka Ithās* (Hindi) by G. H. Ojha, p 142, fn. 3. Prof. S. Dutta drew my attention to this inscription.

2 *Yasy-Odayāditya-nṛpaḥ = pit = āsīd = devaḥ pitṛvyaḥ sa ca Bhoja rājaḥ. Annual Report, Hyderabad Archaeological Survey*, 1927-28, pp. 23 ff.

3 *Pitṛvya* means a 'father's brother'; but it can also mean any 'elderly male relation.' Was Udayāditya a *cousin* or a more *distant relative* (*JAOS*, Vol. VII, p 35) of Bhoja? See *Modern Review*, 1932, pp. 96 and 171-72.

4 *EI*, Vol. II, p. 12, Vs. 17-22. See also *ante.*, chapter on the *Haihayas*, *DHNI*. Vol. II, p. 791.

Rasmala, Udayāditya by his two queens, of whom one was of the Vāghela clan, and the other of the Solanki, had two sons. The Vaghela queen's son Rindhuwul (*i.e.*, Raṇadhavala), was the elder and the heir-apparent. The son of the Solanki queen was Jug-Dev (Jagaddeva), who was dark and handsome. On account of a palace-intrigue the latter left Malwa and entered the service of the Caulukya Siddharāja in Gujarat. He served him for 18 years, but when the Caulukya king 'advanced to attack Dhārā,' Jug-Dev quitted his service and returned to his father, who soon after invested him with 'the royal authority,' and died. He reigned for 52 years and 'went to Dev-lok' at the age of 85, after placing his son Jug Dhuwul (Jagaddhavala) on the throne.[1] Much of this bardic tale must be pure myth. For the date of Siddharāja (*c.* 1094-1144) makes it rather improbable that he could be a contemporary of Udayāditya (*c.* 1059-87) at all, much less for a period of 18 years. But the historicity of Jagaddeva is established by an inscription which has been recently discovered in the N.E. of the Nizam's dominions. This is the *Jainad (or Jainath) inscription* found some six miles to the south-east of Adilabad. It contains 28 lines and opens with (*Oṁ*) *namah Suryāya*. The first two verses are devoted to the invocation of the Sun and Śiva (*Sthānu*, *Tripuradahana*) respectively. It next refers to the birth of Pramāra (Paramāra) through the meditations of Vasiṣṭha, for the destruction of Viśvāmitra's valour. In his family (*tad-anvaye*) was born king (*kṣitīsa*) Jagaddeva. He was the son of king Udayāditya and paternal nephew of Bhoja. He conquered the Andhra king (*Andhrādhīśa*)[2] and subdued the king of Cakradurga (*Cakradurga-nṛpati*),[3] entered the city of Dorasamudra[4] and struck terror in the heart of Malahara (*Malahara-kṣonīśa*). The record

[1] *Ras.*, Vol. I, pp. 117-149

[2] This prince may be identified with the Eastern Calukya Rajendra Cola II (1070-1118 A.D.).

[3] Probably the same as *Cakrakūṭa*, *Cakrakoṭṭa* or *Sakkarakoṭṭam* in C.P. See *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 470, 470 fn. 3, and 470, fn. 4; see also *EI*, Vol. X, pp. 25-31 and 31-34.

[4] The capital of the Hoysaḷas; mod. Halebid in Mysore.

also refers to the victory of Jayasiṁha over the Gurjaras, whose wives are stated to have sought refuge in the caves of the mountain Arbuda. The record then passes on to speak of Lalārka *alias* Arjuna, a great favourite of Udayāditya. He belonged to the family of Dāhimas and was the son of Guṇarāja and grandson of Mahendra. The inscription next records that his wife Padmāvatī founded a temple of Nimvāditya in an *agrahāra*. It was composed by the *Kavi* Aśvatthvāma.[1]

Jagaddeva therefore must have ruled for some time at least over a portion of the Paramāra territory. He seems to have been a vigorous ruler who claims to have raided the territories beyond the Tungabhadra and the limits of whose kingdom extended over the territories between the Penganga and the Godavari. It is significant that though he fought with the Eastern Calukyas and the Hoysaḷas there is no reference to his conflict with the successors of the Kalyana Cāḷukya Taila II. It is interesting to note that some of his enemies were also the traditional foes of the Karṇāṭa king Vikramāditya VI (*c.* 1076-1127 A.D.). It is therefore not impossible that he, like his father, may have been an ally of the great Cāḷukya emperor.

According to the Nagpur *praśasti*, however, the two immediate successors of Udayāditya were his sons Lakṣmadeva and Naravarman. It does not mention Jagaddeva. Is it likely that this name was a *biruda* of Lakṣmadeva. While this is possible we cannot rule out the possibility that Jagaddeva was a brother or half-brother of the more powerful Lakṣmadeva, who paid the penalty of deposition for his subservience to the Karṇāṭa overlord.

As many as twenty verses are devoted in his brother's Nagpur *praśasti* to describing the various military campaigns of Lakṣmadeva.[2] We are told that, "desirous of capturing matchless elephants, he proceeded to Hari's quarter (*i.e.*, the East)," and then, "just as dread entered the town of the lord of Gauḍa" (V. 38). In the course of (another ?) unchecked

[1] Deciphered by Krishnamacharlu. Published in the *Annual Report, Hyderabad Archaeological Survey*, 1927-28, pp. 2[illegible]-24. (Transcript and plate.)

[2] *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 186-88 and 19[illegible]-94, Vs. 35-54.

expedition......he had attacked Tripurī, and annihilated his warlike spirited adversaries'; he (then) "encamped on the banks of the Revā, where his tents were shaded by the creeping-plants of pleasure-gardens, gently set in motion by the breeze from the torrents of the Vindhya mountains. The bathing of his elephants, which allayed the fatigue of battle, produced in the stream of the Revā a succession of waves, bent upon undermining the steep river banks. Often and often the elephants of his army, thickly covered with streams of rutting-juice, demolished even the hills at the foot of the Vindhya mountains." (Vs. 39-41)..."He traversed the hills at the foot of the Vindhya mountains, which were frequently trodden by the squadrons of his fleet horses, the quick sharp hoofs of which acted like chisels in cutting up the extensive, bamboo-clad, massive table-land." (V. 42)...... "Even the troops of elhphants of Aṅga and Kaliṅga, kindred to the elephants of the quarters and bulky like mountains set in motion by the storm at the destruction of the universe, and rivalling rain clouds, dark like herds of hogs, kept for pastime, —even they had to sue for mercy." (V. 43)......His praise was proclaimed by clever men near the eastern ocean, while he, pleased, looked on bashfully" (V. 44)......."When like the pitcherborn Agastya, he directed his steps towards the south, the Colas and other tribes, bowing low before him, acted the part of the Vindhya mountain. The water of the Tāmraparṇī, which is famed all the earth over for pearls which the wives of the feudatories in his army, while they mirthfully bathed in the stream, dropped into it from the breaking girdles of their hips, behold, even to this day the water affords a livelihood to the Pāṇḍya chief." (Vs. 46-47)......"Informedby the people, that the dam before him...was the bridge of holy Rāma...he scornfully crossed over to the opposite island simply on the elephants of his army." (V. 48)......"Afterwards when, impatient that there should be another king of kings (*rājarājam-anyam*), he was marching towards the quarter of the lord of the Yakṣas (*i.e.*, North), the princes opposed to him got rid of fear when, terror-stricken, they

abandoned not merely their wealth of riches, but also the quarter of the Kuvera (*i.e.*, North)." (V. 52)......'Encamped on the banks of the Vaṅkṣu,"[1] he was presented with 'teams of frisky horses' by the Turuṣka, 'whom he had eradicated with ease'; he also 'taught the Kīra chief to utter most flattering speeches, who on account of the proximity of the Sarasvatī was eloquent beyond measure, and who was like a parrot shut up in a big cage.' (V. 54.) Of this laudatory account Bühler accepted as 'tangible and probably true facts' the expedition undertaken against Tripurī, the well-known capital of the Ḍāhala kingdom, and perhaps some fights with the Turuṣkas or Muslim invaders, when the king was encamped on the bank of the river Vaṅkṣu.[2] I have suggested elsewhere that the Ḍāhala king defeated by Lakṣmadeva was the Kalacuri Yaśaḥ-Karṇa (*c.* 1073-1125 A.D.).[3] It is possible that Lakṣmadeva's victory over the Colas may contain a reference to his conflict with Rajendra Cola II Kulottuṅga (*c.* 1010-1118 A.D.)[4] The Turuṣkas who came into conflict with the Paramāra were probably the successors of the Yamīnī Maḥmūd who, as we know, made frequent raids into the Ganges-Jumna valley from their strongholds in the Punjab. But besides these two conflicts, I think there may be some historical basis for the other victories which are claimed for the Paramāra king. Though it is clear that much of these statements is mere *praśasti*, yet the references to the king's campaigns in all the directions of the compass may indicate a desperate attempt to revive the lost glory of the Paramāras. But unfortunately for the 'fire-born race' their attempts were, as we shall presently see, doomed to failure.

No inscription of Lakṣmadeva have yet been discovered; but the Nagpur *praśasti* records that on the occasion of a solar

[1] A small arm or branch of the Ganges; *EI*, Vol. II, p. 194, fn. 80.
[2] *EI*, Vol. II, p. 181.
[3] See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Haihayas*, p. 788.
[4] *MASI*, No. 23, p. 25.

eclipse, he gave with due rites two villages in the Vyāpura-*maṇḍala*.[1] The inscription tells us that Lakṣmadeva was succeeded by his brother Naravarman. Of the latter's reign we have the following published records :—

(1) *Nagpur praśasti.*—Incised on a stone slab in the Nagpur Museum. It contains 41 lines. The inscription opens with *Oṁ oṁ namo Bhāratyai* ; then follow seven benedictory verses addressed to the 'goddess of speech,' Durgā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Brahman, and 'that form of the husbands of Umā and Lakṣmī' (*i.e.*, Viṣṇu-Śiva or Hari-Hara). Then follows the genealogy of the family from Paramāra, sprung from the fire-pit of Vasiṣṭha on Mountain Arbuda, to Naravarman. In V. 55 we are told that Lakṣmadeva granted two villages in the Vyāpura-*maṇḍala* on the occasion of a solar eclipse ; 'afterwards his brother the king Naravarmadeva, has instead assigned the village of Mokhalapāṭaka, at the request of the three places.' (V. 55.) The name of the donee is not specified but it was probably the temple which the king ordered (the architect) Lakṣmīdhara to build, and in which this inscription was put up. The record is dated in (V.) *Saṁ.* 1161 (*c.* 1104-05 A.D.). The *praśasti* appears to have been composed by the king himself.[2]

(2) *Madhukargadh* (Harouta, Rajputana) *stone-inscription.*—This opens with an invocation to Nīlakaṇṭha (Śiva), and then traces Paramāra genealogy from Sindhula (= Sindhurāja) to Naravarman, omitting both Jayasiṁha and Lakṣmadeva. It seems to record the construction of a Śaiva temple by Hara, the son of Mahādeva and grandson of the minister Rudrāditya.[3] It is dated in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1164 (*c.* 1108 A.D).[4]

1 *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 188 and 194, V. 55.

2 Edited by Kielborn, *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 180-95. It had been previously twice edited by Bāl Gaṅgādhar Śāstrī in *JBRAS*, Vol. I, p. 259, and by Lassen in *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Vol. VII, p. 194.

3 Perhaps the grandson of the person bearing the same name in No. 2 of Vākpati II, see *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 858.

4 Substance given by Tod in *TRAS*, Vol. I, p. 226. Also called *Madhucara-ghar Inscription*, *EI*, Vol. XIX, *Appendix*, p. 28, No. 175.

(3) *Bombay grant.*—29 lines incised on two plates. The introductory verses are devoted to praise of Śiva. Then follows the genealogy of the Paramāras from Sindhurāja to Naravarman (as in No. 2). The inscription records the grant of several pieces of land situated in the village of Kadambapadraka, which was being enjoyed by the *Mahāmaṇḍalika* Rājyadeva, in the *Pratijāgaraṇaka* of Mandaraka in the Upendrapura-*maṇḍala*, to the Brāhman Āśādhara. The date is *V. S.* 1167 (*c.* 1110-11 A.D.). But it also contains two more dates, *V. S.* 1154 (*c.* 1097-98 A.D.) and *V. S.* 1159 (*c.* 1102-03 A.D.), when some other pieces of land were granted by the king's wife Mahādevī and the king respectively.[1]

The above inscriptions give us dates from *V. S.* 1154 to 1167 (*c.* 1097-1111 A.D.) for Naravarman. Naravarman was apparently succeeded by his son Yaśovarman some time before *V. S.* 1191 (*c.* 1134 A.D.). For an Ujjain grant records that Yaśovarman performed the funeral ceremony (*Sāṁvatsarika*) in honour of *Mahārāja* Naravarman 'on the 8th lunar day of the bright half of Kārttika' of that year.[2] Another Ujjain copper-plate, which records some grants made by Yaśovarman in V. S. 1192, on the occasion of the funeral ceremony (*Sāṁvatsarika*) of Momaladevī,[3] probably indicates that the latter was the mother of the new king. The following dates and records are so far known for his reign:

(1) An Ujjain grant of *Mahākumāra* Lakṣmīvarman records that in V. S. 1191, on the occasion of the funeral ceremonies in honour of *Mahārāja* Naravarman, the *M.-P.*-Yaśovarman at Dhārā granted the village of Vaḍaūda, belonging (*sambaddha*) to Surāsaṇī, and the village of Uthavaṇaka, belonging to

[1] Noticed in *ASI*, WC, 1921, p. 51. Sometimes known as *Kadambapadraka plate*. *EI*, Vol. XIX, *Appendix*, p. 29, No. 180.

[2] *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 353, lines 6-8.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 349, lines 1 ff.

Suvarṇaprāsādika—both situated in Rājaśayana-*bhoga* in the Mahādvādaśaka-*maṇḍala* to the Karṇāṭa Brāhman Dhanapāla.[1]

(2) *Ujjain grant.*—Obtained from the city of Ujjain : ' The plate which holds this fragmentary inscription is one of apparently two plates, the first of which has never been discovered.' The inscription records that the *Mahārāja* Yaśovarman granted the village of Laghuvaiṁganapadra and part of the village of Ṭhikkarikā [2] to two persons (names lost), probably instead of some other land connected with Devapāṭaka, which had been granted to the donees on the occasion of the funeral ceremonies of Momaladevī. Lines 12-13 gives the date (V.) *Saṁvat* 1192 (A.D. 1135). Line 15 gives the sign-manual of the donor.[3]

(3) *Jhalrapatan stone-inscription.*—Found in Jhalrapatan, in the Jhalawar State, Rajputana. It is highly weather-worn. ' In the body of the inscription can be read the names of the Paramāra kings Naravarmadeva and Yaśovarmadeva. An account of their ministers is apparently given.' Ends with the date V. S. 1199 (*c.* 1142 A.D.)[4]

The inscriptions noticed above give us the dates V. S. 1191 to 1199 (*c.* 1134-42 A.D.) for the reign of Yaśovarman. The Paramāra records say nothing about any incidents of the reign of these two princes. The reason for their silence is probably to be found in the statements of the Caulukya records. The ***Kumārapāla-carita*** tells us that Jayasiṁha destroyed Dhārā and killed Naravarman.[5] According to the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*, the Mālava king Yaśovarman once invaded and overran Gujarat, while Jayasiṁha was absent from his capital. It was with great

[1] *Ibid*, pp. 351-53. The donee was an emigrant from Adrelaviddhāvari ; see *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 891. Ujjain grant of Jayavarman.

[2] Or, Ṭhikkarikā (line 8).

[3] Edited by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XIX, pp. 348-49.

[4] Noticed in *ASI*, W.C., 1906, p. 56, No. 2097. On account of the damaged condition of the record we cannot be absolutely sure whether the record really belongs to this reign.

[5] *V*, 41.

difficulty and humiliation that the Gujarat minister, after washing the Mālava king's feet and throwing 'into the hollow of his hand a handful of water, as a sign of the transference of merit' gained by his master by his pilgrimages, succeeded in persuading Yaśovarman to turn back. The chronicler then proceeds to state that as a result of this a war of 12 years' duration took place between the two kingdoms, at the end of which Jayasiṁha stormed Dhārā, captured Yaśovarman, and led him in triumph to Anahillapura.[1] The *Dvyāśraya*[2] and the *Vasantavilāsa*[3] substantially corroborate the statement of Merutuṅga. I have shown elsewhere that the statements of the chroniclers are supported by epigraphic evidence.[4] Jayasiṁha's assumption of the title of *Avantinātha*, which first appears in his Gala grant[5] shows that the Caulukya king must have achieved substantial success in his protracted campaign before V. S. 1193 (A.D. 1137). His Ujjain inscription shows that one of the capitals of the Paramāras was already in the hands of Jayasiṁha before V. S. 1195 (A.D. 1139). The Jhalrapatan fragmentary inscription of Yaśovarman possibly indicated that the Paramāra king had been forced to withdraw down the valley of Kali Sindhu, but succeeded in maintaining a precarious existence in the lower valley of that river up to V.S. 1199 (A. D. 1142). The Dohad and Udayapur inscriptions of Jayasiṁha unquestionably prove Caulukya occupation of the whole territory from the Panch Mahals to the Betwa. These repeated disasters to the fortunes of the Paramāras must have shaken the foundations of their power in Malwa. There is reason to believe that the Paramāras never fully recovered from the blow which destroyed Bhoja and his

[1] *PC*, pp. 85-88. In early Caulukya grants *Anahillapura* is called *Aṇahilapāṭaka*, see IA, Vol. VI, pp. 191-93; *EI*, Vol. X, pp. 75-79, etc. In the records of the Caulukyas of Vyāghrapallī the name of the city is given as *Aṇahillupāṭaka*; see *IA*, Vol. VI, pp. 210-18; Vol. XI, pp. 241-45, etc.

[2] *IA*, Vol. IV, p. 266.

[3] III, 22-23.

[4] See *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*.

[5] *JBBAS*, Vol. XXV, 1917-21, pp. 322-24.

empire. This is shown by the *Ingnoda stone-inscription* of Vijayapāla This was found 'engraved on a slab of stone...... which is now let into the wall of a newly built temple at Ingnoda, in the territory of the junior Rāja of Dewas.' [1] It contains 15 lines, opening with *Oṁ namaḥ*, after which follows the date (V.) *Saṁvat* 1190 (*c*. 1133 A.D.). It then records that (here) in Iṁganapaṭa,[1] *M.-P.*-Pṛthvīpāla-*pādānudhyāta-Pb.-M.-P.*-Tuhiṇapāladeva-*pādānudhyāta-M.-P.*-Vijayapāladeva, after worshipping *Bhavānī-pati* (Śiva), granted the village of Agāsiyaka to the god Gohādeśvara. It was written by the *Vālabhānvaya-Kāyastha* Kelhaṇa, and engraved by the *Sūtradhāra* Sājaṇa.[2] This inscription reveals the presence of a kingdom within about 50 miles North-east of Ujjain, the princes of which, to judge from their titles, seem to have claimed an independent position. As the record supplies the date, V. S. 1190 for Vijayapāla, it may be concluded that his grand-father carved out this principality on the lower course of the Sipra not long after V. S. 1111-12 (*c*. 1054-55 A.D.), when Bhoja apparently met his doom at the hands of Karṇa and his allies. The presence of this independent kingdom shows the limitations of the jurisdiction of Udayāditya and his successors, and explains the reason why Jayasiṁha, apparently unaided by any powerful ally, was able single-handed to deal such heavy blows against his western neighbours. Jayasiṁha's victories had so paralysed the energies of the Paramāras that even when death relaxed the grip of the Caulukya king on Mālava, they apparently did not succeed in recovering their ancestral possessions in Avanti. On the evidence of the Dohad inscription of the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Vāpanadeva, I have suggested

[1] *i.e.* Iṅgaṇapaṭa; identified with mod. village of Ingnoda, in western Malwa. "About 7 miles from Ingnoda there are to be seen on the banks of the Kshipra, the ruins of a Saiva temple of large dimensions. I think this must have been the temple of Gohadeśvara named in the grant." *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 50.

[2] Edited by Kirtane, *IA*, Vol. VI, pp. 49-50 and 55-56. I think the editor is wrong in taking Āśādhara as the writer of the grant. Some accept this family (I think without sufficient reason), to be a *Kacchapaghāta* family; see *EI*, Vol. XIX, *Appendix*, p. 36, No. 229.

elsewhere[1] that some time between 1140 and 1146 the Caulukyas may have lost their hold on the Panch Mahals, which commanded one of the important strategic routes to Malwa. The intrigue and dissensions which became rampant in the Caulukya court towards the later years of Jayasiṁha (*c.* 1094-1144 A.D.) and the difficulties which at first beset the path of his successor Kumārapāla (*c.* 1144-73 A.D.) may have produced a 'troubled state' in the distant provinces 'apt to rouse the ambitions of a conqueror or a usurper.' The significant omission of the name of Dhārā in the Ujjain grant of Lakṣmīvarman, dated V. S. 1200 (A.D. 1244),[2] as his place of residence, while in the same grant it is mentioned as the place of residence of his father Yaśovarman in V. S. 1191 (*c.* 1134 A.D.), seems to indicate that the city, which had been lost some time before V. S. 1193 (A.D. 1137), had not yet been recovered by the Paramāras in V.S. 1200. The occurrence of the name of one Ballāla as ruler of Avanti Mālava, and Dhārā during this period in Jain chronicles and Caulukya inscriptions therefore shows, as Lüders long ago supposed,[3] that these territories had been conquered by this usurper of unknown lineage. I have shown elsewhere[4] how this Ballāla formed an alliance with the Śākambharī Cāhamāna Arṇorāja to attack Kumārapāla. But unfortunately for the enemies of the Caulukyas, the scheme failed. Arṇorāja was defeated, and Ballāla himself lost his life in the struggle that followed the submission of the Cāhamāna prince. An Abu inscription tells us that the Paramāra Yaśodhavala of Candrāvatī 'quickly killed Ballāla, the lord of Mālava, when he had learned that he had become hostile to the Caulukya king Kumārapāla.'[5] The evident identity of this 'lord of Mālava' whose

1 See *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*.

2 *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 352.

3 *EI*, Vol. VIII, p. 202. According to some Ballāla was "apparently a scion of the Hoysala family of Dvārasamudra ;" see *IA*, Vol. LXI, p. 192.

4 See *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*.

5 *EI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 211 and 216, V. 35.

head, we are informed by the Vadnagar *praśasti* (V. S. 1208),[1] Kumārapāla suspended at his gate, with Ballāla shows that the latter must have lost his life between *c.* 1144 and 1151 A.D. The Udayapur inscriptions of Kumārapāla,[2] dated in V.S. 1220 and 1222, proves that sometime before *c.* 1163-66 A.D., Kumārapāla, like his predecessor, had re-established his grip on Malwa up to the banks of the Betwa in the west. There is no reason to suspect that this grip was relaxed before the end of his reign (*c.* 1173 A.D.)

The period between *c.* 1137 A.D., the date of the Ujjain inscription of the Caulukya Jayasiṁha, and *c.* 1173 A.D., the approximate date of Kumārapāla's death, roughly a period of 36 years, must have been one of very great difficulties for the Paramāras. I have already suggested that after losing Ujjain and his other southern dominions Yaśovarman may have lingered on till about V.S. 1199 (*c.* 1142 A.D.) as the ruler of a small principality in the lower valley of the Kali Sindhu. The difficulties of the Paramāras seem to have been further accentuated during this period by disunion and differences amongst the sons of Yaśovarman. This was first found out by Kielhorn[3] after a thorough analysis of the genealogical lists of the available grants of the Yaśovarman's successors. The facts from these grants[4] may be presented in tabular form as follows :—

According to—

(1)	Piplianagar	grant of	Arjunavarman	(V. S. 1267)
(2)	Bhopal (*i*)	,,	,,	(V. S. 1270)
(3)	,, (*ii*)	,,	,,	(V. S. 1272)

[1] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 293 ff.
[2] *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 341-43; *ibid*, pp. 343-44.
[3] *IA*, Vol. XIX, pp. 345-48.
[4] For references to these grants see *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II pp. 891 ff.

(a) **Bhojadeva**, succeeded by
(b) Udayāditya, succeeded by
(c) Naravarman, his son
(d) Yaśovarman, his son
(e) Ajayavarman, his son
(f) Vindhyavarman, his son
(g) Subhaṭavarman, his son
(h) *Mahārāja* Arjunavarman (V. S. 1267-72)

According to—

(4) Ujjain grant of Lakṣmīvarman (V. S. 1200)

(a) *Pb.-M.-P.*-Udayāditya, succeeded by
(b) ,, ,, ,, Naravarman, succeeded by
(c) ,, ,, ,, Yaśovarman (V. S. 1191), succeeded by,
(d) *Mahākumāra* Lakṣmīvarman [apparently son of (c)] V. S. 1200.

According to—

(5) Ujjain grant of Jayavarman (undated)

(a) *Pb.-M.-P.*-Udayāditya succeeded by,
(b) ,, ,, ,, Naravarman ,, ,,
(c) ,, ,, ,, Yaśovarman ,, ,,
(d) ,, ,, ,, Jayavarman

According to—

(6) Piplianagar grant of *Mahākumāra* Hariścandra (V. S. 1235 and 1236)

(a) *Pb.-M.-P.*-Udayāditya, succeeded by
(b) ,, ,, ,, Naravarman ,, ,,
(c) ,, ,, ,, Yaśovarman ,, ,,
(e) ,, ,, ,, Jayavarman ,, ,,
(f) ***Mahākumāra* Hariścandra (V. S. 1235-36), son of *Mahākumāra* Lakṣmīvarman**

According to—

(7) Bhopal grant of *Mahākumāra* Udayavarman (V. S. 1256)

(a) *Pb.-M.-P.*-Yaśovarman, succeeded by
(b) ,, ,, ,, Jayavarman, ,, ,,
(c) *Mahākumāra* Lakṣmīvarman ,, ,,
(d) ,, Hariścandra
(e) ,, Udayavarman (V. S. 1256)

A comparison of the above lists will show that the genealogy as far as Yaśovarman is the same in all the grants, but that the two groups entirely differ after him. According to Nos. 1, 2 and 3 Yaśovarman was succeeded by Ajayavarman. Since a lineal descendant of Ajayavarman retained the title *Mahārāja* which had been borne by Yaśovarman, Kielhorn concluded that the princes *c* to *h* of this list represented or pretended to represent the main line of the Paramāra family. According to No. 4 Yaśovarman was succeeded by *Mahākumāra* Lakṣmīvarman on or before V. S. 1200, while No. 5 places Jayavarman next to Yaśovarman. According to No. 6 Yaśovarman was succeeded by Jayavarman and the latter on or before V. S. 1235 by *Mahākumāra* Hariścandra son of *Mahākumāra* Lakṣmīvarman, while in No. 7 the line of succession passes from Yaśovarman through Jayavarman, Lakṣmīvarman and Hariścandra to *Mahākumāra* Udayavarman (V.S. 1256). "Here we naturally ask why the *Pb.-M.-P.* Jayavarma-deva should have been omitted in grant No. 4 and why *Mahākumāra* Lakṣmīvarman similarly should have been omitted in grant No. 6. Some indications of how these questions may have to be answered, would appear to be furnished by certain expressions which occur in grants Nos. 4 and 6. In No. 4, we read—*Śrīmaj-Jayavarmadeva-rājye vyatīte nija-kara-kṛta-karāvāla-prasād-āvāptanij-ādhipatya......Mahākumāra-Śrīmal*-Lakṣmīvarmadeva,[1]

[1] i.e., 'the *Mahākumāra*, the illustrious Lakṣmīvarmadeva, who had obtained sovereignty of his own by the favour of the sword which he had taken in his hand, when the rule by the illustrious Jayavarmadeva had passed away.'

and in No. 6, *Śrī*-Jayavarmadeva *ity-etasmāt pṛṣṭhatama-prabhoḥ prasād-āvāpta-nij-ādhipatyaḥ....Mahākumāra-Śrī*-Hariś-candradevaḥ."[1] Taking these expressions with what is otherwise known to us from the inscriptions Kielhorn conceived the succession in the family of Yaśovarman to have been as follows :—

(*a*) Yaśovarman
(3 sons)

(*b*) Jayavarman[2] (*c*) Ajayavarman[3] (*d*) Lakṣmivarman

At first No. (*a*) was succeeded by No. (*b*); soon after this succession, and certainly sometime between V.S. 1192 and 1200, No. (*b*) was dethroned by No. (*c*), who with his successors became the main branch of the Paramāras in Malwa. But the 3rd brother, No. (*d*), did not submit to No. (*c*), but, as stated above in grant No. 4, succeeded by force of arms in appropriating a portion of Malwa, which he, his son, and his grandson ruled as *de facto* independent chiefs. At the same time No. (*d*) and his son and successor looked upon Jayavarman, though deposed, as the rightful ruler of Malwa; and in the opinion of Kielhorn it is for that reason that Hariścandra in grant No. 6 professes to rule by the favour of that prince, and that both Lakṣmīvarman and Hariścandra claim for themselves no higher title than that of *Mahākumāra* which was handed down to and adopted by even Lakṣmivarman's grandson Udayavarman.[4]

The above suggestions of Kielhorn, though not entirely free from difficulties, are under the present circumstances the best solution of the problem presented by the genealogical lists of the

[1] *i.e.*, 'the *Mahākumāra*, the illustrious Hariścandradeva, who has obtained sovereignty of his own by the favour of the last ruler, before mentioned, the illustrious Jayavarmadeva.'

[2] In the inscriptions not actually called son of No. (*a*).

[3] Fleet and Ganguli identify him with (*b*), see *IA*, Vol., XVI, p. 253; *ibid* Vol. LXI, p. 213. But Kielhorn rejects their identity; *ibid*, Vol. XIX, p. 347, lines 28-29 (from the tope).

For a fresh discussion on the *Paramāra Mahākumāras*, see *IA*, Vol. LXI, pp. 192 ff. Ganguly thinks that there were two branches of the *Mahākumāras*, one founded by Lakṣmīvarman and the other by his son Hariścandra.

later Paramāras. It is however certain that the Paramāra dominions, already reduced by the Caulukya occupation, were after Yaśovarman's death still further dismembered by division amongst his successors. Of the reign of Jayavarman, who perhaps succeeded Yaśovarman we have only one undated inscription. This is his *Ujjain grant*, so named because it was obtained from that city in Malwa. Unfortunately one of (probably) two plates has been only discovered. It contains 16 lines, and opens with *Om svasti*, and two verses in eulogy of Śiva (*Vyomakeśa Smarārāti*), followed by the donor's genealogy.[1] It next records that *Pb.-M.-P.* Yaśovarmadeva-*pādānudhyāta Pb.-M.-P.*-Naravarmadeva, from his residence at Vardhamānapura, informs his officials and the people concerned that while in residence at Candrapurī he has granted the village of Māyamōḍaka, belonging to Vaṭakheṭaka-*Ṣaṭtriṁśat*, to a Brāhman living at Rājabrahmapurī (name lost), who had emigrated from Adriyalavidāvarī.[2] The extant portion contains no date; but Kielhorn assigns it 'with certainty to the time between the Vikrama years 1192 and 1200.'[3] No grants have yet been discovered of the next prince Ajayavarman. But we have the *Ujjain grant* for the next brother Lakṣmīvarman. It was so named, because it was also found in the city of Ujjain in Malwa. It contains 20 lines, incised on two plates and opens exactly in the same way as the grant of Jayavarman. Then follows the genealogy of the donor.[4] Next it mentions the grant made by his father in V.S. 1191 from Dhārā.[5] We are then told that in V.S. 1200 (*c.* 1144 A.D.) *Pb.-M.-P.* Yaśovarmaveda-*pādānudhyāta-Samadhigata-Pañca-mahā - śabd-ālaṅkāra - virājamāna-Mahākumāra*-Lakṣmīvarman confirmed the grant made

[1] See *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p 888, No. 5.

[2] See *ibid*, p. 868, fn 1. According to Kielhorn the donee of the two grants was the same person, *I.A*, Vol. XIX, p. 350.

[3] Edited by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XIX, pp. 349-51. The localities mentioned have not yet been identified.

[4] See *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 888, No. 4.

[5] See *ibid*, pp. 882-83, No. 1.

by his father.[1] Lakṣmīvarman was succeeded by his son Hariścandra for whose reign we have the *Piplianagar grant*, found in the village of Piplianagar in the Shujalpur pargana, Bhopal Agency, C.I. It opens with *Oṁ Śrī-Gaṇeśāya namaḥ*; then follow two verses in praise of Śiva (*Vyomakeśa and Smarārāti*), and the genealogy of the donor.[2] The inscription next records that the *Samadhigata-Pañca-mahā-śabd-alaṅkāra-virājamāna-Mahākumāra*-Hariścandradeva, who obtained sovereignty (*ādhipatya*) by the favour (*prasāda*) of *Pb.-M.-P.*-Jayavarmadeva, in V.S. 1235 (*c.* 1178 A.D), after bathing in the Narmadā, near the (temple of) the god Caturmukha Mārkaṇḍeśvara granted two shares (*aṁśa-dvayam*) of the Palasavāḍā[3]-*grāma*, belonging to *Maḍāpadra-pratijāgaraṇaka* of the Nilagiri[4]-*maṇḍala* to the donee *Paṇḍita* Daśaratha Śarman. It further records that in V.S. 1236 (*c.* 1179 A.D.) the same donor made some further grants to the *Paṇḍita* Mālune Śarman, and ends with the sign-manual of the donor, who describes himself as the son of *Mahākumāra* Lakṣmīvarman and a sun (*kamala-bandhu*) to the *Paramāra-kula-kamala*.[5]

Hariścandra was succeeded by his son *Mahākumāra* Udayavarman. We have the *Bhopal grant* for his reign. This was found 'during survey operations, in a field at the village of Uljamun, in the Shamsgaḍh Parganā of the Bhopal State,' C.I. It contains 41 lines written on two plates. In the lower part of the second plate is engraved the figure of Garuḍa with folded hands. The inscription opens in the same way as the

1 Edited by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XIX, pp. 351-53. The place of residence of the donor is significantly omitted. Kielhorn pointed out that the donee of this grant is the same as in Jayavarman's grant; see *ante*. The localities mentioned are not identified.

2 See *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 888, No. 6.

3 Identified by some with Palaswara 69 miles north of Malegaon in Khandesh, *IA*, Vol. LXI, pp. 213-14.

4 Identified by some with Nilgiri fort, about a mile north of Narmada, *AI*, Vol. LXI, p. 213.

5 Edited by Wilkinson in *JASB*, 1838, Vol. VII, pp. 736-41. The plates ought to be re-edited.

grant of the donor's father. Then comes the donor's genealogy.[1] We are then told that Udayavarmadeva, son of *Pañca-mahā-śabd-ālaṁkāra-virājamāna-Mahākumāra*-Hariścandra, having bathed in the Revā at the Guvāḍaghaṭṭa,[2] in V.S. 1256 (*c*.1200 A.D.) granted the village of Guṇaürā,[3] one of the forty-eight belonging to Voḍasirā, which formed part of the Narmadapura[4]-*pratijāgaraṇaka*[5] in the Vindhya-*maṇḍala*, to the Brāhman Mūla Śarman. The grant ends with the sign-manual of the donor and that of the *Dūtaka*, the illustrious *Maṇḍalika* Kṣemvarāja.[6]

The inscriptions of Lakṣmīvarman's successors noticed above range from V.S. 1200 to 1256, corresponding to *c*. 1144 to 1200 A.D. On account of the difficulties in identifying the places mentioned in the grants of predecessors of Udayavarman, it is impossible to fix the location of the principality, which Lakṣmīvarman claims to have carved out with his own sword. But it is significant that Hariścandra, before he made his grants in V.S. 1235-36 (*c*. 1178-79 A.D.) bathed in the Narmadā. If the identifications proposed by Fleet of the localities mentioned in the grant of Udayavarman be accepted, they tend to show that in V.S. 1256 (*c*. 1200 A.D) he was in possession of a portion of the Bhopal Agency.[7] The occupation of the Bhopal region was no doubt made possible by the death of the Caulukya emperor Kumārapāla (*c*. 1144-73 A.D.), the murder of his

[1] See *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II. p. 889, No. 7.

[2] 'Possibly represented by the modern village of Guaria, on the left bank of the Narmadā, 2 miles to the west of Hoshangābād' : Fleet.

[3] 'Undoubtedly the modern Ganora of the map. miles S.W. of Hoshangābād' : Fleet.

[4] Identified with mod. Hoshangābād by Fleet.

[5] Derived from *pratijāgṛ*, 'to watch beside.' Generally taken to mean a district; see IA, Vol. XVI, p. 253, fn. 5.

[6] Edited by Fleet, *IA*, Vol. XVI, pp. 252-56. Two Bhopal inscriptions dated in V.S. 1241 (*c*. 1184 A.D.) and S. 1108 (*c*. 1186 A.D.) of one Udayāditya (*JAOS*, Vol. VII, p. 85) is referred by some to this reign; see *IA*, Vol. LXI, p. 214.

[7] If the identifications proposed by Fleet (*IA*, Vol. LXI, pp. 252-56) and Ganguly (*IA* Vol. LXI, pp. 213-14) are accepted, then the territories of the *Mahākumāras* must have sometimes extended to the south of the Narmadā.

successor Ajayapāla (*c.* 1173-76 A.D.), and the complications that inevitably followed the rule of minors.[1] The rapid succession of so many calamities must have weakened the hold of the Caulukya rulers upon Western Malwa; and it seems likely that this region was gradually recovered for the Paramāras by the successors of Lakṣmīvarman.

The misfortunes of the Caulukyas seems to have also reacted very favourably on the fortunes of the main branch of the Paramāras of Malwa. As I have indicated above, when the conquering legions of the Caulukyas burst through the Panch Mahals and occupied the whole of western, southern, and eastern Malwa as far as Udayapura, Yaśovarman may have been forced down the Kali Sindhu and the Parbati. He may have maintained a precarious existence somewhere round the modern states of Kotah, Tonk and Jhalawar. His two immediate successors, Jayavarman and Ajayavarman, do not seem to have had any great degree of success in retrieving the lost dominions of their ancestors. But Ajayavarman's son and successor, Vindhyavarman, appears to have come out from his northern retreat and recovered Dhārā, which had been lost to his family since the days of Yaśovarman. This is proved by the statement found in the grants of Arjunavarman and Devapāla, which inform us that Vindhyavarman's long arm was eager to extirpate the Gūrjaras (*Gūrjara-ccheda*) and that "the sword of this (king) skilled in war, with Dhārā rescued by it, assumed three edges (*i.e.*, *tridhārā*=Ganges), to protect as it were the three worlds."[2] The recovery of Dhārā must have been completed about V.S. 1249 (*c.* 1192 A.D.), for Jain tradition records that soon after that year Āśādhara's father Salakhaṇa (Sallakṣaṇa) came to Dhārā, to the court of Vindhyavarman, *alias* Vijayavarman.[3] According

[1] See *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*.

[2] *JASB*, 1836, Vol. V, p. 378, Vs. 12-13; *JAOS*, Vol. VII, p. 26, Vs. 12-13; *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 106-09 and 114, Vs. 12-13. It was Kielhorn who first pointed out the true significance of the verses. See *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 346, fn. 3.

[3] *Sāgāra-dharmāmṛta* of Āśādhara. (Published by Manik Chandra Digambara-Jaina-granthamālā Samiti, Bombay), p. 1.

to the same tradition *Mahākavi* Bilhaṇa served as the *Sāndhi-vigrahika-mantri* of Vindhyavarman.[1] An unpublished inscription of this minister, dated in the reign of his master, is reported to have been found at Maṇḍapa-durga (mod. Mandu).[2]

Vindhyavarman was succeeded by his son Subhaṭavarman, known also as Subhaṭa, corrupted into Sohaḍa, in popular tradition. By the time this prince ascended the throne of Dhārā, the position of the Paramāras had become so well consolidated in their home-kingdom that they were able to undertake expeditions into the territory of their Caulukya rivals. The grants of his successors claim that "the fire of prowess of that conqueror of the quarters (*i.e.*, Subhaṭavarman) whose splendour was like the sun's, in the guise of a forest fire (*dāvāgni*) even to-day blazes in the *pattana* of the blustering Gūrjara (*Garjjad-Gūrjara-pattane*)."[3] This claim is supported by the statement of the Jain writer Merutuṅga, who tells us that during the reign of the Caulukya Bhima II, "the Mālava king Sohaḍa advanced to the border of Gujarat, with the intention of devastating the country."[4]

Subhaṭavarman was succeeded by his son Arjunavarman. The following inscriptions are known for his reign :

(1) *Piplianagar grant.*—Found in a field of the village of Piplianagar, in the Shujalpur pargana, Bhopal Agency, C. I., by a cultivator while ploughing. It opens with *Om namaḥ puruṣārtha-Cūḍāmaṇaye Dharmāya.* Then follow four verses praising the Moon, the lord of the twice-born (*dvijendra*), Paraśurāma, Rāma, and Yudhiṣṭhira. Next is given the genealogy of the donor from Bhojadeva.[5] We are then told that king Arjunavarman when he was resident in Maṇḍapa-*durga* (mod. Mandu), in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1267 (*c.* 1211 A.D.), granted the

[1] *Ibid*, p. 2.

[2] *Paramāras of Dhār and Malwa*, by Luard and Lele, p. 58.

[3] *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 108 and 114, V. 16; *JASB*, Vol. V, p. 378, V. 15; *JAOS*, Vol. VII, p. 26, V. 15.

[4] *PC*, p. 154; see also *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*.

[5] See *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 887-88, No. 1.

village of Piḍiviḍi in the Śakapura-*pratijāgaraṇaka* to the *Purohita* Govinda. The grant was composed by the *Rājaguru* Madana with the assent (*sammata*) of *Mahāpaṇḍita* Bilhaṇa.[1]

(2) *Bhopal grant* (*i*).—This and the next grant were found 'deposited in the library of the Begum's school at Sehore in Bhopal.' Its introductory portion is the same as in No. 1. In the formal part it records that the donor of No. 1 above, after bathing in the Somavatī-*tīrtha* 'on Monday, the 15th day of the moon's wane, granted to the priest (*Purodhas*) Govinda a section of buildings belonging to the Daṇḍādhipati' (*Daṇḍādhipati-vāsa-vigraha*)[2] in the city of Mahākāla (*i.e.*, Ujjain). It further records that while residing at Bhṛgukaccha (mod. Broach), on the occasion of a solar eclipse in (V.) S. 1270 (in words) the same donor granted to the *Purohita* Govinda Śarman (same as Govinda above) the village of Uttarāyaṇa, appertaining to (the district of) Sāvairisole.[3] The inscription is again dated towards the end in (V.) *Samvat* 1270 (A.D. 1213), written in figures. It was composed by the *Rājaguru* Madana, with the permission of *Mahāsāndhi*(*vigrahika*) *Pa*(*ṇḍita*) Bilhaṇa. Then comes the sign-manual of *Mahārāja* Arjunavarmadeva. Last is given the name of the engraver, *Paṇḍita* Bāpyadeva.[4]

(3) *Bhopal grant* (*ii*).—Introductory portion exactly the same as in No. 1 above. In the formal part it records that the donor of No. 1, while resident at the Amareśvara-*tīrtha*, after bathing at the junction of the Revā and the Kapilā, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in (V.) S. 1272 (A.D. 1215), after worshipping *Bhavānīpati*, *Oṅkāra*, and *Lakṣmīpati*, granted the village of

1 Edited by Wilkinson, *JASB*, 1836, Vol. V, pp. 377-82. It ought to be re edited.

2 Hall translated *Daṇḍādhipati-vāsa-vigraha* as 'a ground plot for a temple of *Daṇḍādhipati*.' But Dr. Barnett suggests that *vigraha* here should be taken to mean a *vibhāga*, section, block; and *vāsa* in the sense of a house. The gift consisted apparently of a block of buildings which belonged to (the officer called) *Daṇḍādhipati*.

3 The editor suggests it may mean 'the sixteen villages of Sāvairi; *sole* closely approximates to the vernacular corruption of *ṣoḍaśa*.' *JAOS*, Vol. VII, p. 47, No. 54.

4 Edited by Hall in *JAOS*, Vol. VII, pp. 32-34.

Hathināvara, on the north bank of Narmadā, in the Pagāra-*pratijāgaraṇaka*, to the *Purohita Paṇḍita* Govinda Śarman. Towards the end the date (V.) *S.* 1272 is again given in figures. It was composed by the same as No. (2), with the permission of the *Mahāsāndhi(vigrahika) Rājā* Salakhaṇa (Sallakṣaṇa). The sign-manual and engraver are the same as in No. 2.[1]

The three inscriptions noticed above give us dates from V. S. 1267 to 1272, corresponding to *c.* 1211-15 A.D. From these we know that Arjunavarman had the *biruda* Trividha-vīra,[2] and that 'his fame spread in the quarters in the guise of the laughter of the *dikpālas*' when in battle 'which was his childhood's frolic....Jayasiṁha took to flight.'[3] We are also told that, being 'a treasure-house of the stores of poetry and song, he now has relieved the goddess (*Sarasvatī*) of the burden of her books and lyre.'[4] These references to the king's victories and literary accomplishments are remarkably confirmed by Jain tradition and the fortunate discovery of a hitherto unknown drama named *Pārijāta-mañjarī* or *Vijayaśrī*[5] which was composed as a *praśasti* to Arjunavarman by the royal preceptor (*rāja-guru*) Madana,[6] who came from Gauḍa, presumably during the lifetime of his disciple. This work was found incised on a slab of black stone "attached to the northern wall of the principal *miḥrāb* in the mosque" at Dhar, in C. I. The slab contains 82 lines of writing. The work is a *nāṭikā* in four acts, and is stated to have been acted for the first time at the spring-festival in a temple of the

[1] Edited by Hall, *JAOS*, Vol. VII, pp. 25-31. On *Amareśvara tīrtha* and *Kapilā-saṅga*, see *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 904, fn. 4, Mandhata grant of Jayavarman II, V.S.1317.

[2] *JAOS*, Vol. VII, p. 26, V. 19. It means a hero in fight (*yuddha-vīra*), a hero in compassion (*dayā-vīra*, like Jīmūtavāhana), and a hero in bounty (*dāna-vīra*, like Bali): see *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 111, fn. 6. This *biruda* is also mentioned by the *Pārijāta-mañjarī*. See *EI*, Vol. VIII, p. 102, line 7, *Trividha-vīra-cūḍāmaṇi*.

[3] *JAOS*, Vol. VII, p. 26, V. 17.

[4] *Ibid*, V. 18.

[5] Edited by Hultzsch in *EI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 96-122; printed separately at Leipzig in 1906 by Otto Harrassowitz.

[6] Must be the same as the composer of the three grants of Arjunavarman; see *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 896-97. He was taught by the Jain Āśādhara, *EI*, Vol. VIII, p. 99, fn. 11.

goddess of learning.[1] Unfortunately however the slab contains only the first two acts of the drama, the other two acts, which were incised on a second slab, are still missing. The drama deals with the love-affair of the king with Pārijāta-mañjarī or Vijayaśrī, the daughter of the Gurjara king Jayasiṁha, who fell into Arjuna's hands after her father's defeat. In the opening verse the Mālava prince is called the incarnation of Bhoja.[2] In line 7 Arjunavarman is said to have defeated the *Gūrjara-pati*[3] Jayasiṁha 'on the borders of the land at the foot of the mountain called Parva-parvata.'[4] The preserved portion of the drama reveal that the king had another queen named Sarvakalā,[5] who was the daughter of the king of Kuntala. As in the *Ratnāvalī*, the whole interest of the drama consists in the king's intrigue with his new love in which he eludes the watchful and jealous queen. Hultzsch rightly remarked that, though the author must have derived the conception of his plot from older compositions, yet, "as the hero of the new drama was a living and reigning king, it is unlikely that the chief persons who appear on the stage together with him were pure inventions of the poet. It would have been poor panegyric that made Arjunavarman move among fictitious characters."[6] The evidence of Arjunavarman's grants which also ascribe to him victories over Jayasiṁha seem to confirm this conclusion. The same author, following Dr. Hall,[7] has suggested the identification of this Jayasiṁha with the Caulukya Bhīma II (*c.* 1178-1241 A.D.), who had the *biruda* 'new Siddharāja,' which was a surname of Jayasiṁha (*c.* 1094-1144 A.D). Though Merutuṅga refers to the devastation of Gujarat during the reign of Bhīma II by Sohaḍa's son

[1] *Śāradā*, line 3, *Bhāratī*, line 6.
[2] *EI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 98 and 101, V. 1.
[3] Also called *Caulukya-mahī-mahendra*, *ibid*, p. 103, V. 7.
[4] Not identified.
[5] Called in V. 30 (p. 107) *Samastakalā*.
[6] *EI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 100-101.
[7] *JAOS.*, Vol. VII, pp. 39-40, No. 23.

Arjunadeva,[1] yet *I* am inclined to believe that the prince referred to was not Bhīma Abhinava-Siddharāja, but the Caulukya Jayantasiṁha, also called Jayasiṁha, who during the period *c.* 1218-26 A.D. ousted Bhīma II and for a short time captured the sovereign power in Gujarat.[2] Hultzsch however may be right in his identification of the Kuntala king with the Hoysala Vīra-Ballāla II, who ruled from *c.* 1173-1212 A.D.[3]

The claim to literary merit advanced by his grants is supported by his commentary on the *Amaru-śataka.* In this work he quotes a verse by the preceptor (*upādhyāya*) Madana, *alias* Bālasarasvatī. Hultzsch rightly identified this Madana with the author of the *Pārijāta-mañjarī* and the three royal grants mentioned above. The quotations in the *Rasika-saṁjīvinī* show that Madana produced other poetical works, and he may have materially helped his disciple in the compilation of his commentary.[4] Another luminary in Arjunavarman's court was Bilhaṇa, who is described as *Mahāpaṇḍita* in the royal grants. He served the Mālava prince as his *Sāndhivigrahika,* and is referred to as *Mahākavi* in Jain tradition.[5] The third scholar was the Jain Āsādhara, whose father Salakhaṇa (Sallakṣaṇa) is probably to be identified with the person of that name who appears with the title *rājā* as the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* of Arjunavarman in one of his Bhopal grants (V. S. 1272).[6] The Jain tradition records that Madana was a pupil of Āśādhara.[7]

The facts recorded above show that the Paramāras had to some extent again succeeded in reviving the glory of the days of

[1] *PC*, p. 151.

[2] See *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*; see also *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 118, fn. 2.

[3] *EI*, Vol. VIII, p. 101; *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, table facing p. 492.

[4] *EI*, Vol. VIII, p. 99. Āśādhara in his *Dharmāmṛta-ṭīkā* writes: *Sa Bālasarasvati mahākavi-Madana.* See *Sāgāra dharmāmṛta*, Introduction, pp. 3-4.

[5] *Sāgāra-dharmāmṛta*, p. 2.

[6] *Ibid*, p. 1; *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 107. He also served in the same capacity under Arjuna's father

[7] For the name of another officer of Arjuna, the *Amātya* Nārāyaṇa, see *Pārijāta-mañjarī*, *EI*, Vol. VIII, p. 103, V. 8.

Muñja and Bhoja. The claim that Arjunavarman was an incarnation of Bhoja was not entirely fictitious.

Arjunavarman was succeeded sometime before V.S. 1275 by Devapāla. The following records are known for his reign :

(1) *Harsauda stone-inscription.*—Dug out from the ruins of a temple in the village of 'Harsaudā, about $10\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the town of Chārwā, in the district of Hoshangabad in the Central Provinces.' It contains 18 lines, opening with *Oṁ namaḥ Śivāya* and then praising the gods Heramba (Gaṇeśa), Bhāratī (Sarasvatī), Brahman, Viṣṇu and Śiva. Then follows the date (V.) *Saṁvat* 1275 (A.D. 1218), at Dhārā, in the reign of *Samadhigata-pañca-mahā-śabd-ālaṁkāra-virājamāna-Pb.-M.-P.-Parama-māheśvara-Limbāryā*[1]*-prasāda vara-labdha-pratāpa*-Devapāladeva. The object of the inscription is to record that on the north-eastern side of Harṣapura the merchant Keśava built a temple of Śambhu together with a tank, and that near it he put up figures of Hanumat, Kṣetrapāla, Gaṇeśa, Kṛṣṇa, Nakulīśa and Ambikā. It ends with *Śivamastu.*[2]

(2) *Mandhata grant.*—Found enclosed in a stone-chest 'near the temple of Siddheśvara at Māndhatā, an island on the Narmadā river attached to the Nimar District of the C P.' It contains 80 lines, incised on 3 plates. The introductory portion (verses 1-19) is exactly the same as in his father's grants.[3] We are informed that Arjunavarman was succeeded in Mālava, by Devapāla, son of Hariścandra. In the formal part we are told, while staying at Māhiśmatī,[4] on the occasion of a lunar eclipse,

[1] I cannot identify this deity; see also *IA*, Vol. XX, p. 84, fn. 3. Dr. Barnett suggests : "This name is right : *cf. Limbarāja*, see below (*DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 921. Perhaps *limba* is a variant for *nimba* which occurs in names (*e.g.*, Nimbāditya, Nimbārka) : so Kanarese has both *nimba* and *limba*."

[2] Edited by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XX, pp. 310-12. First edited by Hall in *JASB*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 1-8. This text was republished in *ASWI*, No. 10, pp. 111-12. Hall also published some notes on the record in *JAOS*, Vol. VI, pp. 536-37.

[3] See *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 895-97.

[4] Identified by Kielhorn with Maheswar, north of the Narbadā (Long. 75°37′ and Lat. 22°11′), in the Indore State : *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 106.

in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1282 (*c.* 1225 A.D.) after bathing in the Revā and worshipping Śiva in the neighbourhood of (Viṣṇu) Daityasūdana, Devapāla granted the village of Satājuṇā[1] in the Mahuaḍa[2]-*pratijāgaraṇaka*, to the Brāhman Gaṅgādhara and 31 other donees. The date in figures is again given in line 79. It was composed by the *Rāja-guru* Madana[3] with the assent of the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika-Paṇḍita* Bilhaṇa.[4] Line 80 contains the sign-manual of the donor.[5]

(3) *Udayapur stone-inscription* (*i*).—Found inside the eastern entrance of the great temple of Udayapur, in Gwalior. It contains 14 lines, opening with the date (V.) *Samvat* 1286 (*c.* 1229 A.D.) in the victorious reign of Devapāladeva.[6]

(4) *Udayapur stone-inscription* (*ii*).—Found in the same place as in No 3 above. It contains 15 lines, and is dated in (V.) *Samvat* 128(9?) (*c.* 1232 A.D.), at Udayapura, in the reign of *P.-M.-* Devapala.[7]

The inscriptions noticed above range from V. S. 1275 to 1289, corresponding to *c.* 1218-1232 A.D. While editing the Harsauda stone inscription Kielhorn noticed the similarity of the royal titles in that record to those occurring in the inscriptions of the descendants of *Mahakumara* Lakṣmīvarman.[8] His suspicion was confirmed by the Mandhata plates, which distinctly state that Devapala was the son of Hariscandra, who must be identified with the son of Lakṣmīvarman bearing the same name. Devapāla was therefore a brother of Mahākumāra Udayavarman, for whom we have the date V.S. 1256.[9] The

[1] Mod. Satajana, about 13 miles SW of Mandhata, *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 106.

[2] Probably the village of Mohod, 25 miles south of Satajana, *ibid.*

[3] The composer of Arjunavarman's grants and the *Pārijāta-mañjarī*.

[4] The same person who served Arjunavarman in the same office: see *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 896.

[5] Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 103-17. For the list of donees see *ibid*, pp. 115-17. The plates are now in the Nagpur Museum.

[6] Noticed by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XX, p. 83.

[7] Noticed by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XX, p. 83.

[8] *Ibid*, p. 311.

[9] *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 105.

fact that, unlike his father and grand-father Devapāla discards the title of *Mahākumāra* and assumes imperial titles would seem to indicate that in him the two families again became reunited. It is easy to conclude that the line of Arjunavarman ceased to exist for lack of male heirs. But it is not beyond the range of probability that the line of Lakṣmīvarman, who, if Kielhorn's guess is correct, never regarded the line of Ajayavarman as the legitimate rulers of Mālava, may have ousted their relatives by violence.

The inscriptions noticed above show that Madana, the preceptor of Arjunavarman, continued to serve in that capacity under the new king. Similarly Bilhaṇa, who also served the previous king appears to have retained the post of minister of peace and war under the new administration. The Jain scholar Āśādhara survived Arjunavarman and finished his *Jina-yajña-kalpa* and *Triṣaṣṭi-smṛti* during the reign of Devapāla.[1] The latter work was completed in A.D. 1236.[2] The only interesting incident in Devapāla's reign comes from *Hammīra-mada-mardana* of Jayasiṁha Sūri, which tells us that in alliance with the Yādava king Siṁhaṇa (Siṅghaṇa, A.D. 1210-47) he made a joint attack on Vīradhavala, the Vāghela chieftain of Dholka. But the Jain author tells us that, thanks to the ability of the spies engaged by Vastupāla, the minister of the Vāghela chief, dissensions arose in the camps of the allied monarchs, and the attempted attack failed.[3] We may well doubt whether this story of the failure of the Paramāra-Yādava attack is really correct. I have shown elsewhere that in the struggle with their southern neighbours the Dholka chiefs were sometimes defeated and compelled to submit.[4]

Devapala was succeeded by his son Jaitugi who had the *biruda* Bālanārāyaṇa.[5] The Jain scholar Āśādhara survived

1 *Sāgāra-dharmāmṛta*, p. 5.
2 Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Part I, p. 54.
3 *GOS*, No. X, See Acts I and II; also *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*
4 See *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*.
5 *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 118, fn. 4 and p. 121, lines 20-23.

Devapāla and finished his *Sāgāra-dharmāmṛta* in V.S. 1296 (*c.* 1239 A.D.)[1] and his *Anagāra-dharmāmṛta* in V.S. 1300 (*c.* 1243 A.D.)[2] in the reign of the new king. No inscriptions of this king have yet been discovered. The only incident of his reign appears to have been a possible conflict with the Vāghela Vīsaladeva.[3] Jaitugi[4] was succeeded by his younger brother (*anuja*) Jayavarman II. The following inscriptions are known for his reign :—

(1) *Rahatgadh stone-inscription.*—Found 'inside the fort of Rāhatgaḍh in the Central Provinces.' It contains 14 lines of very rude writing, which open with *Oṁ Siddhiḥ*, and are dated in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1312 (*c.* 1256 A.D.) in the victorious reign of *M.*-Jayavarmadeva.[5]

(2) *Modi stone-inscription.*—Found in a Jain temple at Modi, Indore State, C.I. The record is fragmentary. It is dated in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1314, and refers itself to the reign of (Paramāra) Jayavarmadeva.[6]

(3) *Mandhata grant.* Found 'at the village of Godarpura opposite the island of Māndhātā, on the southern bank of the Narmadā in the Nimār district of the Central Provinces.' It contains 53 lines incised on two plates. The introductory portion (Vs. 1-21) is the same as in No. 2 of his father.[7] The new facts

[1] *Sāgāra Dharmāmṛta*, p. 5. See also *Grantha-kartuḥ praśasti* at the end, Vs. 19-21.

[2] *Ibid*; also *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 118; Bhandarkar's *Report* for 1883-84, pp. 105 and 392.

[3] See *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*.

[4] According to some also known as 'Jayasiṁha II,' *EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 49.

[5] *ASR*, Vol. X, p 31. In *IA*, Vol. XX, p. 84. Kielhorn read the name of the king as *Jaya(siṁ)hadeva*. But in *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 118, he was 'not sure whether Sir A. Cunningham was not right in reading the same as *Jaya (varmma) deva*.' Ojha refers the inscription to Jaitugi. See *HR*, Vol. I, p. 209. D. R. Bhandarkar gives the name of the king as Jayasiṁhadeva. See *EI*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 78, No. 551.

[6] 'Noticed in *ASI*, WC, 1906, p. 12, and also in *ibid*, 1913, p. 56.' Modi is sometimes spelt as Morī. The *Aṭru* (Kotah State, Rajputana) *Inscription* of the time of *M.* Jayasiṁhadeva dated in V. S. [13]14 which records a grant to the *Mahākavi-cakravartin* Ṭhakura Nārāyaṇa probably also belongs to the reign. See *ASI*, *WC*., 1906, p. 56, No. 2111.

[7] See *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 900-01. The only important variation is the name *Jaitrasiṁha* in place of the usual Jayasiṁha, the Caulukya opponent of Arjunavarman.

about the genealogy of the Paramāras (Vs. 22-23) are as follows. After Devapāla's death, the throne of Mālava went to his son Jaitugi. After his death his younger brother Jayavarman II succeeded him. In the formal portion of the grant we are told that this last ruler in (V.) *Saṁvatsara* 1317 (*c.* 1260 A. D.), while staying at Maṇḍapa-*durga*, caused the Pratīhāra Gāṅgadeva to give the village of Vaḍaüda [1] in the Mahuaḍa-*pathaka* [2] to the *agnihotrin* Mādhva Śarman and two others (names and shares given). Gāṅgadeva made the grant at Amareśvara-*kṣetra*,[3] on the southern bank of the Revā after bathing at the confluence of the Revā and Kapilā [4] and worshipping the holy Amareśvara Śiva. The *rāja-śāsana* was written 'here at Maṇḍapa*durga*' (mod. Mandu) by Harṣadeva, with the approbation of the *Sāndhi-vigrahika*, the *Paṇḍita* Mālādhara. It was corrected by the grammarian (*Śābdika*) Āmadeva, a disciple of the learned Gōsēka (Gōsē), 'who knew the boundless essence of legal science' (*Smṛti-śāstra-sāra*), and engraved by the *rūpakāra* Kānhaḍa. The *Dūta* was the *Mahāpradhāna Rājā* Ajayadeva.[5]

The three inscriptions noticed above show that Jayavarman II ruled at Dhārā at least from V.S. 1312 to 1315 (*c.* 1256-60). If the name 'Jayasiṁha' is accepted as a variation of his name [6] then he appears to have come into conflict with the Cāhamānas of Ranastambhapura.[7] In the Balvan plates of Hammīra, Vāgbhaṭa,

1 Mentioned in the Ujjain grant of Yaśovarman and Lakṣmīvarman (V.S. 1191 and 1200); see *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 352, line 5. See also *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 882, 'Perhaps the village of Burud,' 3 miles NE of Satajana, the village granted by Devapāla's Māndhātā grant, see *ibid*, p. 901, fn 1.

2 See Mandhata grant (V.S 1282) of Devapāla. Note the correspondence by *Pathaka* and *Pratijāgaraṇaka*.

3 Same as *Amareśvara tīrtha* of the Bhopal grant (V.S. 1272), see *ante*, p. 897 ; also *JAOS*, Vol. VII, p. 27.

4 The junction of the two rivers (Revā and Kapilā) is now known as '*Kapila-Sangam* where a small stream joins the Narbada.' *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 120.

5 Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. IX. pp. 117 23. First noticed by Lele in his *Progress Report of Archaeological work in the Dhar State*, 24th August, 1904. The grant is sometimes called *Godarpura plates*, see *EI*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 79. No. 559. The plates are now in the Nagpur Museum.

6 See *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 903, fn. 7.

7 See *infra*, *DHNI*, chapter on the *Cāhamānas*.

a descendant of Govindarāja is said to have harassed Jayasiṁha of Maṇḍapa (mod. Mandu).[1] How long Jayavarman II continued to wield power in Mālava, it is difficult at present to say. But a reconsideration of the inscriptions which hitherto have been referred to a separate prince named Jayasiṁha may suggest that some of them perhaps belong to the immediate successor of Jaitugi. One such is the *Pathari inscription*, dated in *V.S.* 1326 (A.D. 1269), which Kielhorn referred to his reign.[2] The date is so close to the last known date (V.S. 1317) of Jayavarman II that one is naturally tempted to think that there may have been some mistake in reading the name or that they are both the names of the same prince. Some scholars however take him to be a separate prince who succeeded Jayavarman II as Jayasiṁha III.[3] But that there was a separate prince bearing the name Jayasiṁha who ruled in Malwa in *V. S.* 1366 (*c.* 1310 A.D.) is clearly shown by a stone inscription incised on the inside of the eastern entrance of the great temple of Udayapur (Gwalior State, C.I.).[4] The date of this record is so far removed from the last known date of Jayavarman II that he must in all likelihood be accepted as a separate person.[5] Whether his rule extended over Dhārā, as Kielhorn suggested, is however uncertain. But before this Jayasiṁha we must place two more princes. Rai Bahadur Ojha has pointed out that an inscription engraved on a slab in the temple of Kavāljī (Kapālīśvara) in the Balvan estate of Kotah, dated in

[1] *EI*, Vol XIX, p. 49, V. 7; *ibid*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 89, No. 623.

[2] Noticed by Kielhorn in *EI*, Vol. V, *Appendix*, p. 33, No. 232, from a rubbing. In addition to the Atru inscription of Jayasiṁha noticed above (*ante*, p. 903, fn. 5), another inscription of Jayasiṁha bearing the date V S 1311 (A.D. 1256) was discovered at Udayapur (Gwalior State, C.I.). This prince is accepted by some as a Paramāra, see *EI*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 78, Nos. 550 and 554. It is possible, as I have suggested above, that Jayavarman was also known as Jayasiṁha.

[3] See G. H. Ojha, *HR* (V.S. 1981), Fasciculus I, p. 203.

[4] *IA*, Vol. XX, p. 84. Noticed by Kielhorn.

[5] Ojha in his *HR* (I, p. 204) designates him as Jayasimha IV in the Malwa line.

V.S. 1345, the Cāhamāna Hammīra of Ranathambhor (*c.* 1283-1301 A.D.) claims to have taken away the fortune of Mālava by defeating Arjuna. Ojha accepts this Mālava prince as Arjunavarman II in the Paramāra line of Malwa.[1] Another ruler of Mālava who may possibly have been the successor of Arjuna II was Bhoja II. The *Hammīra Mahākāvya* of Nayacandra tells that the Cāhamāna prince Hammīra (*c.* 1283-1301 A.D.) in the course of his *dig-vijaya* defeated Bhoja of Dhārā, encamped in Ujjayinī and worshipped at the temple of Mahākāla.[2] From the similarity of this name with that of some of the Paramāras of Malwa and from the locality over which he reigned it will probably be safe to consider him as a successor of Arjuna(varman II ?). But the exact relationship of this prince with Bhoja II (?) and of both with their predecessors or with their possible successors is at present unknown. Some scholars accept Jayasiṁha of the Udaipur inscription (V.S. 1366), as the successor of Bhoja II and as the last prince of the line of the Paramāras of Malwa.[3] But this must remain at present a guess, unsupported by any conclusive evidence.

The period that followed the reign of Arjunavarman (*c.*1211-15 A.D.) appears to have been one of gradual decline in the history of the Paramāras of Malwa. By this time the Turks had consolidated their power in the valleys of the Indus, Ganges, and Jumna and were casting greedy eyes towards the wealth of the south. In the reign of Iltutmish (1211-36 A.D.) the greatest of the slave kings of Delhi, the Muslims first plundered and desecrated the temples and cities of Malwa. The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* informs us that shortly after the capture of Gwalior, the Sulṭān in 632 A. H. (1234 A.D.) " led the hosts of Islam towards Mālwah and took the fortress and town of Bhīlsāṇ, and demolished the idol temple which took three hundred years in building, and which, in altitude,

[1] *Ibid*, p. 206.
[2] *IA*, Vol. VIII, pp. 64-65 ; Sarga IX, 18-19.
[3] Ojha, *HR*, I, p. 204.

was about one hundred ells. From thence he advanced to Ujjain-Nagarī, and the temple of Mahā-kāl Dīw. The effigy of Bikramajīt who was sovereign of Ujjain-Nagarī, and from whose reign to the present time one thousand, one hundred, and sixteen years have elapsed, and from whose reign they date the Hindū-ī era, together with other effigies besides his, which were formed of molten brass, together with the stone [idol] of Mahā-kāl, were carried away to Dihlī, the capital." [1] Firishta repeats this, with the additional information that the temple of Mahākāla was 'formed upon the same plan with that of Somnat' and that the images conveyed to Delhi were 'broken at the door of the great mosque.' [2] This expedition must have taken place in the reign of Devapāla (*c.* 1218-36 A.D.). There appears to have been a period of calm for about fifty years. But at the end of it, in 1292 A.D. 'Alā ud-Dīn Khaljī, in the reign of his uncle Jalāl ud-Dīn Fīrūz (1290-96 A.D.) invaded Malwa, captured the town of Bhilsa, and brought much plunder to Delhi.' [3] Firishta records that shortly before this expedition Sulṭān Fīrūz himself had "marched against the 'Hindoos' in the neighbourhood of Mandu, and returned to his capital after devastating the country." In his subsequent invasion of Deogir in A.D. 1294, 'Alā ud-Dīn probably followed the Chanderi-Bhilsa route up the Betwa valley, and did not penetrate into the valleys of the Sipra and upper Chambal. By this he probably avoided a conflict with the Paramāras on this occasion. But in A.D. 1305, 'Alā ud-Dīn sent his general "Ein-ool-Moolk Mooltany......with an army to effect the conquest of Malwa. He was opposed by Koka, [5] the Raja of Malwa, with 40,000 Rajput horse, and 100,000 foot. In the engagement which ensued, Ein-ool-Moolk proved victorious, and reduced the cities of Oojein, Mando,

[1] *TN*, Vol. I, pp. 622-23.
[2] *TF*, Vol. I, p. 211.
[3] *Ibid*, p. 303.
[4] *Elliot*, Vol. III, p. 140; *TF*, Vol. I, p. 304.
[5] The *CHI*, Vol. III, p. 111, gives the name as 'raja Koka or Harnand.'

Dharanuggury and Chundery. After these successes, he wrote an account of the same to the king, who, on receiving it, commanded illuminations to be made for seven days throughout the city of Dehly."[1] This was probably the end of Paramāra sovereignty in Malwa. What relationship this 'Koka' had with Devapāla (*c.* 1218-36 A.D.) or with Bhoja II (?) remains uncertain. That he was a Paramāra ruler is also at present a mere guess. The Udayapur inscription of Jayasiṁha, dated in 1310 A.D., shows that Hindu chiefs probably still lingered in Malwa for some time after the defeat of 'Koka.'

(2) *Paramāras of Candrāvatī and Arbuda (Abu).*

The earliest reference to this branch of the Paramāras is obtained from the *Vasantgadh stone-inscription* of the Paramāra Pūrṇapāla, dated in V.S. 1099.[2] The introductory portion of this record gives the following genealogy of Pūrṇapāla :—

From the anger (*kopa*) of Vasiṣṭha was produced a
Kumāra; from him the
Paramāras;[3] in his lineage
Utpalarāja
|
Āraṇyarāja
|
Adbhuta-Kṛṣṇarāja
|
?
Mahipāla
|
Dhandhuka = Amṛtadevī
|
Pūrṇapāla (ruled in Arbuda-*maṇḍala*.) — Lāhiṇī

It is evident from this list that Pūrṇapāla traced his descent to one Utpalarāja. It is not improbable that this prince is

[1] *TF*, Vol. I, pp. 361-62.
[2] *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 10-15.
[3] Notice the peculiar spelling.

identical with Vākpati II (*c.* 975-90 A.D.) of the Malwa branch, who had the additional name of Utpalarāja.[1] If this identification is accepted, we must suppose that Vākpati conquered the Abu country in the course of his campaigns against the Cāhamānas of Nadol and the Caulukyas of Anahilavad.[2] Āraṇyarāja, the son of Vākpati-Utpala, was therefore in all probability established as the first feudatory of his father in the Arbuda-*maṇḍala*. Āraṇyarāja was succeeded by his son Vāsudeva[3] *alias* Abdhuta-Kṛṣṇarāja I. This Kṛṣṇarāja may be identical with the hero Kānhaḍadeva, whose name occurs as that of one of the Abu Paramāras in the Mt. Abu Vimala temple-inscription[4] dated in V.S. 1378 (A.D. 1322). But it is more likely that the person meant in the Abu inscription was the prince Kṛṣṇarāja from whom Vākpati II traces his descent in his grants.[5] The next name on the list is that of Mahīpāla, who was possibly his son, though it is difficult to be certain on the point on account of some damage to the inscription.[6] Rai Bahadur Ojha and Dr. Bhandarkar place the name of Dharaṇīvarāha between Kṛṣṇarāja and Mahīpāla, and accept him as the son of the former and father of the latter.[7] It is likely that Mahīpāla had another name, Devarāja.[8] An unpublished grant of Mahīpāla is reported to bear the date V.S. 1059 (*c.* 1002 A.D.).[9] Mahīpāla was succeeded by Dhandhuka. This prince is probably to be identified with the Abu Paramāra of that name mentioned in the Vimala temple-inscription

[1] See *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol II, p. 854.

[2] See *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 855.

[3] *EI*. Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 20, No. 123.

[4] *EI*, Vol. IX, p 155, line 3. Also called the *Devāḍā Inscription* (of the Devḍā Cahamāna Lumbhaka), *EI*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 95, No. 677.

[5] See *ante*, *DNHI*, Vol. II, pp. 844, 852

[6] Kielhorn writes ' His son (or, if a name should have been lost at the commencement of line 4, his son's son). *EI*, Vol. IX p. 11.

[7] Ojha, *HR*, I, pp. 171-72. *EI*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 20, No. 123.

[8] See *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 472-73. The Bhinmal inscription of Kṛṣṇarāja, the son of Dhandhuka and grandson of Devarāja.

Ojha, *HR*, I, p. 172.

referred to above. We are told in this record that Dhandhu-rāja, lord of the town of Candrāvatī, was born in the family of Paramāra Kānhaḍadeva. This Dhandhu, 'averse from rendering homage to the (Caulukya) king Bhīma I (*c.* 1022-64 A.D.) and to escape from that king's anger, took refuge with king Bhoja, the lord of Dhārā'[1] (*c.* 1010-55 A.D.). As the inscription after this statement abruptly introduces the Prāgvāṭa Vimala, the *Daṇḍapati* of Bhīma I at Arbuda, and refers to his building of a temple of Ṛṣabha (Yugādi-bhartṛ, Yugādi-jina, Ādi-nātha) on the top of the mountain in V.S. 1088 (*c.* 1031 A.D.)[2] it seems almost certain that Vimala became the Caulukya governor of this region after ousting the Paramāra Dhandhu, who was probably the feudatory of Bhoja. But the *Vasantgad stone-inscription* of Pūrṇapāla shows that the Paramāras were not permanently ousted from the Abu region. This record was found in a tank at Vasantgadh, apparently situated to the east of Mt. Abu, in the Sirohi State of Rajputana. It contains 23 lines of writing, of which about 15 *akṣaras* have been lost at the commencement of lines 1-9. The inscription opens with two verses in which 'the author pays homage to Maheśvara, Prācetasa (Vālmiki), and Vāṇī (the goddess of eloquence).' The 3rd verse invokes Hari (Viṣṇu). Then follows the genealogy of Pūrṇapāla, as shown above.[3] Then we are told that Pūrṇapāla's sister Lāhiṇī was married to one Vigraharāja. The genealogy of this person is given as follows :—

Dvija Yoṭa......by his bravery acquired the title king (*bhūpa*).

In his lineage

Nṛpa Bhavagupta......restored the sun-temple at Vaṭa (*Vaṭa-vāsi-bhānu*). He reigned at Vaṭu.[4]

1 *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 151 and pp. 155-56, lines 4-5.

2 *Ibid*, pp. 149, 151 and 156, lines 5, 8.

3 See *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 908.

4 Vaṭa-nagara or Vaṭa-pura was situated on the bank of the Sarasvatī (line 15). It is not identified; but Kielhorn points out that it was an ancient place, for it is mentioned

In his lineage
Saṁgrāmarāja......ruled at Badarī in Vaṁśāraṭha.
|
Durlabharāja
|
Caca
|
Dhandhuka — Pūrṇapāla, Lāhiṇī = Vigraharāja

The object of this inscription is to record that the widowed Lāhiṇī restored an ancient temple of the sun, and probably also a tank.[1] It was composed by the Brāhman Mātṛśarman and engraved by Śivapāla. It is dated in V.S. 1099 (*c*. 1042 A.D.) in lines 22-23.[2]

Besides the above we have the *Bhadund stone-inscription* of Pūrṇapāla[3] showing that he was still holding Arbuda-*maṇḍala* in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1102 (*c*. 1045 A.D.). This was discovered at Bhadund, about a mile and a half from Nana in the Jodhpur State. As Pūrṇapāla's reign coincided with that of Caulukya Bhīma I (*c*. 1022-64 A.D.), it seems likely that the officers of the latter still held Abu while the country around continued to be in the possession of Dhandhuka's son. Pūrṇapāla was possibly succeeded by Kṛṣṇarāja II.[4] The following two inscriptions are known for his reign :—

(1) *Bhinmal stone-inscription* (*i*).—Incised on the lower part of a pillar in the *dharmaśālā* east of the temple of Bārāji east of the town. It contains 23 lines of writing and

in the Vasantgadh inscription of Varmalāta of the (V.)S. 682 (*EI*, Vol. IX, p. 191), and in a somewhat earlier inscription found at the village of Samoli in the Bhomat district of Mewar. *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 99 It is probably identical with Vasantgadh, or was situated near by.

[1] Apparently the very tank where this record has been found, Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. IX, p 11.

[2] Edited by Kielhorn in *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 10-15. First edited by Captain Burt in *JASB*, Vol. X, pp. 664-74. The inscription was composed by the Brāhman Mātṛśarman and engraved by Śivapāla, the son of the *Sūtradhāra* Dāuka, grandson of Durga and great-grandson of the *sthapati* Nāga.

[3] Noticed by Bhandarkar, *ASI*, WC, 1908, p. 50. Edited by Ramakarna, *JBRAS*, Vol XXIII, pp. 78 ff.

[4] See *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 912, fn. 3.

is somewhat damaged. The record opens with *Oṁ namaḥ Sūryāya* and a verse in praise of the Sun. Then comes the date (V.) S. 1117 (*c.* 1060 A.D.), at Śrīmāla, in the reign of *M.*-Kṛṣṇa-rāja, son of Dhaṁdhuka and grandson of Devarāja of the Paramāra race. It records some repairs to the temple of the god Jagatasvāmī (deva) by Dada Hari and some other persons, likewise some gifts and donations to the temple. The grants were made when Kiriṇāditya of the Dharakūṭa family was the office-holder in his turn for the current year (*Vartamāna-varṣa-vārika-Dharakūṭa-jāti Kiriṇāditya.*[1]

(2) *Bhinmal stone-inscription* (*ii*).—Incised 'on the north face of the upper square section of the more northerly of the two pillars that support the eastern side of the dome of the temple of Jagasvāmi.' It contains 13 lines of writing. The record opens with *Oṁ*, then follows the date (V.) S. 1123 (*c.* 1067 A.D.) at Śrīmāla, in the reign of *M.*-Kṛṣṇa-rāja. The inscription is badly damaged, but appears to be a Śaiva record concerning one Jāvala, a *Pāśupatācārya* and a devotee of Caṇdīśa-Mahādeva.[2]

A difficulty in the identification of this Kṛṣṇarāja as a member of Pūrṇapāla's family is caused by the name of his grandfather Devarāja. But considering the proximity of his reign-period (*c.* 1060-67 A.D.) to that of Pūrṇapāla (*c.* 1042-45) the agreement in the name of the father of both princes, and the provenance of their records, it is perhaps reasonable to accept him as a brother of Pūrṇapāla.[3] I have already suggested that Devarāja was possibly another name of Mahīpāla, the grandfather of Pūrṇapāla.[4] Kielhorn has pointed out that the prince Kṛṣṇa

[1] Edited by Jackson in *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 472-73. Noticed by Bhandarkar, *ASI, WC*, 1908, p. 37.

[2] Edited by Jackson in *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 473-74. On the date, see *EI*, Vol. V, Appendix, p. 93, No. 689.

[3] See *JBORS*, Vol. XVIII, 1932, pp. 40 ff., for another suggestion. Dr. Ganguly considers Kṛṣṇa and his predecessors mentioned in the two Bhinmal inscriptions (V.S. 1117 and 1123) as belonging to a separate branch of the Paramāras reigning over *Marumaṇḍala* from Bhinmal. See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 842, fn. 3.

[4] See *ante*, *DHNI* Vol. II, p. 909.

whom the Naddūla Cāhamāna Bālaprasāda claims to have released from the prison of Bhīma I of Anahilavad (*c.* 1022-64 A.D.) is probably identical with this Abu prince.[1]

There is a gap of about fifty years in the history of the Paramāras of Abu after Kṛṣṇarāja II. They next emerge from obscurity as feudatories of the Caulukyas of Anahilavad. The following genealogical list of these later Abu Paramāras is given in an Abu inscription (V.S. 1287=1230 A.D.)[2] of the time of Bhīma II (*c.* 1178-1241 A.D.).

From the sacrificial fire-pit of Vasiṣṭha on Mt. Arbuda

1. Paramāra: In that lineage
2. Dhūmarāja: Then there were
3. Dhandhuka.
4. Druvabhaṭa and others: In their lineage
5. Rāmadeva
6. Yaśodhavala
7. Dhārāvarṣa
8. Prahlādana
9. Somasiṁha
10. Kṛṣṇarāja.[3]

(5 → 6; 6 → 7 and 8; 7 → 9; 9 → 10)

It is difficult to see what relationship this group had with the line of Pūrṇapāla, noticed above. The latter group seems to trace its pedigree back to Utpalarāja of the main line and beyond him possibly to Kānhaḍadeva (Kṛṣṇarāja). It is not improbable that this last prince is the same as the Dhūmarāja of the above list.[4]

[1] *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 75-76, V. 18; also p. 72; see *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapters on the *Caulukyas* and the *Cāhamānas*.

[2] *EI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 200-04, 208-19; see *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*.

[3] Also known as 'Kānhaḍadeva.' See *EI*, Vol. VIII, p. 206.

[4] Dr. Barnett sees no ground for accepting this identification; I have tentatively suggested the identification because of the similarity of the two names; *dhūma* and *kṛṣṇa* both signify darkness.

But as I have already noticed, there is a distant possibility that Kānhaḍadeva and the present Dhūmarāja may be identical with the Adbhuta-Kṛṣṇarāja of the Vasantgadh stone-inscription. Dhandhuka of the Abu inscription may also be the same as the father of Pūrṇapāla of the Vasantgadh epigraph. But without confirmatory evidence these suggestions must be regarded as pure guess. The person who really founded this line was Rāmadeva, who may have been a relative of Kṛṣṇarāja II (*c*. 1060-67 A.D.) of the two Bhinmal inscriptions noticed above. The *Kumārapāla-carita* relates that the Caulukya king Kumārapāla suppressed the rebellion of Vikramasiṁha, the lord of Candrāvatī, and having imprisoned him, installed his nephew Yaśodhavala in his place.[1] This Yaśodhavala is no doubt to be identified with the prince of that name in the Mt. Abu inscription. He was certainly the feudatory of Kumārapāla (*c*. 1144-73 A.D.), as he claims to have killed Ballāla, the lord of Mālava, when the latter became hostile to the Caulukya prince.[2] Thus Vikramasiṁha appears to have been a brother of Rāmadeva, and may have been placed in Candrāvatī as his feudatory by Jayasiṁha Siddharāja (*c*. 1094-1144 A.D.). The following inscriptions of Yaśodhavala are so far known :—

(*i*) *Ajahari stone-inscription*.—Discovered at Ajahari in the Jodhpur State, Rajputana. It is fragmentary and is dated in V.S. 1202 (A.D. 1146) in the time of *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Yaśodhavaladeva. It is now preserved in the Ajmer Museum.[3]

(*ii*) *Mount Abu inscription*.—Found on Mount Abu, Sirohi State, Rajputana. It is dated in V.S. 1207 in the reign of *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Yaśodhavaladeva.[4]

1 See *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*.

2 *EI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 211 and 216, V. 35 ; also *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*.

3 Ojha, *HR*, I, p. 175. *ASI*, *WC*, 1911, p. 38 ; *IA*, LVI, p. 12.

4 *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 149 ; *ibid*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 43, No. 280.

(*iii*) *Koyalbav inscription.*—Found at Koyalbav, Godwar, Jodhpur State, Rajputana. It is dated in V.S. 1208 in the reign of Jasadhavala (Yaśodhavala).[1]

Yaśodhavala was succeeded by his son Dhārāvarṣa, who claims in the Abu inscription to have defeated the lord of Kauṅkana, no doubt in the interest of his liege-lord the Caulukya Kumārapāla.[2] According to the *Pārthaparākrama* this Abu ruler also repulsed a night attack by the (Cāhamāna) Pṛthvīrāja III (*c.* 1179-98 A.D.), king of Jaṅgala.[3] It is stated that up to now one copper-plate and 14 stone-inscriptions bearing dates from V.S. 1220 (*c.* 1163 A.D.) to V.S. 1276 (*c.* 1218 A.D.) have been discovered for the reign of Dhārāvarṣa.[4] Of these the following appears to have been noticed or published so far :

(1) *Kayadra stone-inscription.*—Found in the village of Kayadra (16 miles from Vasa in the Sirohi State) in a roofless brick shed near the ruined temple of Kāśi-Viśveśvara. It is dated in (V.) S. 1220 (*c.* 1163 A.D.) in the reign of *M.-Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Dhārāvarṣadeva, and records some grants by him to the god Kāśīśvara.[5]

(2) *Abu stone-inscription* (*i*).—Contains 14 lines, of which 'lines 7 and 14 are indistinct.' It is written in a mixture of Sanskrit and Vernacular. It opens with *Oṁ svasti*, and then gives the date (V.) *Saṁvat* 1220 (*c.* 1163 A.D.) in the reign of *M.-Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*-Dhārāvarṣa. It probably recorded the grant of a *Śāsana* by this prince granting remission of taxes, on (the village of) Phukahalī belonging to *Bhaṭṭāraka* Deveśvara, of

[1] *IA*, Vol. XX, p. 43, No. 283.

[2] *IA*, Vol. VIII, p. 212, V. 36; see also *infra*, chapter on the *Caulukyas*. The name of the lord of Konkan was Mallikārjuna.

[3] *GOS*, No. 4, p. 3; also *ibid*, *Introduction*, p ii.

[4] *IA*, 1927, pp. 47-48. The discovery is said to have been made by G. H. Ojha of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer.

[5] *ASI*, WC, 1907, p. 27; *ibid*, 1911, p. 39. In the absence of plates, it is not possible for me to compare it with No. 2 but the name of the god makes me suspicious that it may be the same record as the next one. See *IA*, 1924, p. 51. Bhandarkar seems to agree, see *EI*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 48, No. 317.

the temple of Kāśīśvara, by *Kumhara* (Kumāra) Pālhaṇadeva. Lines 13-14 record the grant of a field by the *amātya* Śivasiṁha.[1]

(3) *Hathal grant.*—The plates were discovered at Hathal, Sirohi State, Rajputana. They are dated in V. S. 1237 in the reign of Dhārāvarṣa, lord of Arbuda (Abu).[2]

(4) *Ajahari inscription.*—Found at Ajahari, Jodhpur State, Rajputana. It is dated in V.S. 1240 in the time of Dhārāvarṣa-deva reigning at Candrāvatī.[3]

(5) *Mungthala inscription.*—Found at Mungthala, Sirohi State, Rajputana. It is dated in V.S. 1245 in the reign of Dhārāvarṣa-deva.[4]

(6) *Abu stone-inscription* (*ii*).—This is dated in V.S. 1265 in the time of the Caulukya Bhīma II and his feudatory *Maṇḍalika* Dhārāvarṣa-deva. The latter was ruling at Candrāvatī with the *Kumārā-guru* Prahlādana as the *Yuvarāja*.[5]

(7) *Abu stone-inscription* (*iii*).—4 lines only. It opens with the date (V.) *Saṁvat* 1271 (*c.* 1214 A.D.), and grants one *halavāha* (plough-drive) of land at the village of Sāvaḍa Vṛddha by the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Dhārāvarṣa.[6]

(8) *Abu stone-inscription* (*iv*).—Found in a temple of Śiva; contains 19 lines; broken in two pieces. It opens with the date (V.) *Saṁvat* 1274 (*c.* 1217 A.D.), in the reign of Dhārāvarṣa, the son of Jasadhavala (Yaśodhavala). The object is not clear; it 'probably records the vow of certain persons to

1 Edited by R. R. Haldar, *IA*, 1927, Vol LVI, pp. 50-51. Now in the Rajputana Museum. Seems to be the same inscription as No. 1. But Haldar does not refer to it as previously noticed in *ASI*, *WC*, 1907, under a different name.

2 Edited by B. Shastri, *IA*, Vol. XLIII, p. 194.

3 Noticed by D. R. Bhandarkar, *ASI*, *WC*, 1911, p. 38.

4 Noticed by D. R. Bhandarkar, *ibid*, 1907, p. 26.

5 Edited by Cartellieri, *IA*, Vol. XI, pp. 220-23. For detailed notice of the record see *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas* (reign of Bhīma II). The inscription is recorded in *EI*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 65, No. 464 under the name *Kankhal inscription*.

6 Noticed by G. H. Ojha in *Annual Report*, *Rajputana Museum*, *Ajmer*, 1910-11, p. 2. Edited by R. R. Haldar, *IA*, 1227, pp. 50-57 now in the Rajputana Museum. The inscription is recorded in *EI*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 67, No. 468 under the name *Butri inscription*.

observe the festivity for two days on the day of *Mahārātri.*' (*Śivarātri*).[1]

(9) *Pindwara stone-inscription.*—Found at Pindwara, the principal town of the *tahsil* of the same name, about 14 miles east of Sirohi. It is dated in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1274 (A.D. 1217), in the reign of Dhārāvarṣa, son of Jasadhavala, of the lineage of Śrī-Dhomarāja.[2]

(10) *Makaval inscription.*—This record is said to be engraved on a marble pillar on the bank of a tank at a little distance from the village of Makaval in the Sirohi state, Rajputana. It is dated in V.S. 1276 (*c.* 1219 A.D.) in the reign of Dhārāvarṣa of Candrāvatī.[3]

The inscriptions noticed above range from 1220 to 1276 V.S., a period of 56 years (*c.* 1163-1219 A.D.). The inscription No. 2 above gives us the name of *Kumhara* Pālhaṇadeva, who must be identified with prince Prahlādana, who according to the Abu inscription, dated in V.S. 1287, was a younger brother of Dhārāvarṣa.[4] Another Abu inscription (6), dated in V.S. 1265 describes *Māṇḍalika* Dhārāvarṣa as a feudatory of Bhima II.[5] This inscription, we are told, was composed during Dhārāvarṣa's administration when the illustrious Prahlādana-deva, 'an expert in all fine arts and useful sciences, a most worshipful prince, was the heir-apparent ' (*Ṣaḍ-darśana-avalambana-stambha-sakala-kalā-kovida-Kumāra-guru-Śrī- Prahlādana-deva*). These inscriptions therefore show that Dhārāvarṣa was contemporary with no less than four Caulukya princes, from Kumārapāla (*c.* 1144-73 A.D.) to Bhīma II (*c.* 1178-1214 A.D.). The claim of Prahlādana to literary merit is confirmed by his

[1] Edited by Haldar, *IA*, Vol LVI, p. 61 and pl , now in the Rajputana Museum.

[2] Noticed in *ASI*, WC, 1906, p. 48. In the absence of plates I cannot compare it with No 8, but it seems to be the same as No. 8; but Haldar does not refer to No. 8 as previously noticed under a different name. Bhandarkar seems to agree with me, *EI*, Vol XX, *Appendix*, p. 67, No. 469.

[3] Noticed by Sukthankar, *ASI*, *WC*, 1917, p. 61. See also *IA*, 1927, pp. 47-48; Ojha, *HR* I, p. 177.

[4] See *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 913.

[5] *IA*, Vol. XI, pp. 220-23.

Vyāyoga, a one-act drama, named *Pārthaparākrama*.[1] I have suggested elsewhere that Dhārāvarṣa is probably to be identified with 'Dārābars' who with Rāi Karan led the Caulukya forces against Quṭb ud-Dīn in A.D. 1197.[2] I have also discussed the question of the identity of the Gurjara prince who according to the Abu inscription of V.S. 1287 mentioned above, was defended by Prahlādana when the former's power was broken in battle by the (Guhila) Sāmantasiṁha. He was probably Caulukya King Ajayapāla (*c.* 1173-76 A.D.).[3] The same inscription, when read with another Abu record of the same date, shows that in 1287 V.S. (*c.* 1230 A.D.) Somasiṁha, the son of Dhārāvarṣa, was still ruling at Candrāvatī as feudatory of Bhīma II.[4] Another inscription of Somasiṁha, stated to have been found in a temple at Devakṣetra in Sirohi State, carries his reign down to V.S. 1293 (*c.* 1236 A.D.).[5] The recently discovered *Pāṭanārāyaṇa stone-inscription* shows that the line of the Abu Paramāras continued for three more generations. This record was found at Pāṭanārāyaṇa temple near Girvar, 4 miles west of Madhusudan in Sirohi. It contains 39 lines and opens with Oṁ namaḥ Puruṣottamāya. It traces the genealogy from Dhārāvarṣa as follows :—

1. Dhārāvarṣa
 |
2. Somasiṁha
 |
3. Kṛṣṇarāja (III)

4. Pratāpasiṁha.

It records that the Brāhman Delhaṇa, minister of No. 4 above, carried out the repairs of the temple (of Pāṭa-nārāyaṇa) during

1 Edited by Dalal in *GOS*, No. IV, 1917.

2 See *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*; see also *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 72-73; *IA*, 1927, p. 47. The *Hamira-mada-mardana* of Jayasiṁha states that Dhārāvarṣa, one of the chiefs of the Maru country, helped Viradhavala against the *Mleccha-cakravarti*, *GOS*, No. X, II, 8.

3 *Infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*; also *IA*, 1924, pp. 100-02.

4 *EI*, Vol. VIII, p. 205.

5 Noticed by Ojha, *Annual Report, Rajputana Museum*, 1911, p. 7. *HR*, I, 179, fn. 8, *ASI, WC*, 1917, p. 69.

the years (V.) S. 1343-1344 (*c.* 1286-87 A.D.). The inscription was engraved by Gāṅgadeva. Line 39 contains the date (V.) S. 1344.[1] The inscription tells us that Pratāpasiṁha defeated Jaitrakarṇa and regained Candrāvatī. It has been suggested that this Jaitrakarṇa is probably the Guhila Jaitrasiṁha, the grandson of Mathanasiṁha and son of Padmasiṁha.[2] The details of the history of Pratāpasiṁha's successors are not very clear. But Ojha refers to a stone-inscription in the Brahmāṇa-svāmī (Sun) temple at the village of Varman in Sirohi, dated in V.S.1356 (*c.* 1299 A.D.) in the reign of *Mahārājakula* Vikrama-siṁha,[3] whom he accepts as the successor of Pratāpasiṁha, and the last of the Paramāras of Abu.[4] An Abu inscription dated in V. S. 1377 (A.D. 1321) informs us that the Cāhamāna *Mahārājakula* Luntigadeva conquered and ruled over Candrāvatī and Arbuda.[5] Another Abu inscription, dated in V.S. 1387 records repairs of a well by the *Guhilaputra* Mokala when Teja-siṁha was ruling at Candrāvatī.[6] This Tejasiṁha has been identified as the nephew of Luntiga and one of the ancestors of the Cāhamāna family who still hold Sirohi. He appears to be identical with the *Devḍā* (Deora) Tejasiṁha (V. S. 1387-93=*c.* 1330-1335 A.D.), a descendant of Kīrtipāla, who founded the *Sonigāṛā* branch of the Cāhamānas at Jalor. Kīrtipāla, was a brother of the Nadol Cāhamāna Kelhaṇa (V. S. 1221-39=*c.* 1164-1182 A.D.).[7] It is therefore certain that between the years V.S. 1344 and 1387 (*c.* 1277 and 1320 A.D.) the Paramāras were ousted from Abu by the Cāhamānas.[8]

1 Edited by B. Sastri, *IA*, 1916, pp. 77-80.

2 *Ibid*, p. 77; see *EI*, Vol. V, *Appendix*, p. 41, No. 289 for the two Guhila rulers. Also *DHNI*, Vol. II, *infra*, chapter on the *Guhilaputras*

3 Noticed by Sukthankar, *ASI*, *WC*, 1917, p. 72.

4 *HR*, I, p. 180.

5 *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 79 ff; see also *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Cāhamānas*.

6 *RMR*, 1926, p. 2. *ASWI*, No. 2, *App.*, p. xv, No. 58; *ASI*, *WC*, 1907, p. 28.

7 *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 73 ff. See also *DHNI*, Vol. II, *infra*, p. 925; also *ibid*, chapter on the *Cāhamānas*.

8 On the history of the Devḍā (Deora) Cāhamānas, who trace their descent to the Cāhamānas of Nadol, see *IGI*, 1908, Vol. XXIII, pp. 30 ff.; Ojha, *HR*, I, p. 180.

(3) *Paramāras of Banswara (Vāgaḍa).*[1]

The existence of this branch is known from the *Arthuna inscription* of Cāmuṇḍarāja and a number of other records. The Arthuna inscription was discovered near Arthuna, a village about 28 miles to the west of Banswara in Rajputana. It is incised on a slab on the right side of the *Śikhara* of the temple of Maṇḍaleśvara Mahādeva, situated about a mile to the east of Arthuna, and contains 53 lines, opening with *Oṁ namaḥ Śivāya*, and two verses invoking Devī and the moon-crested god (Śiva). Then follows the following genealogy of the Paramāras :—

From the fire-pit of Vasiṣṭha on Arbuda

Paramāra. In his lineage :

Vairisiṁha | Ḍambarasiṁha.

Ḍambarasiṁha. In his lineage :

Kaṁkadeva (Kakkadeva)

Candapa

Satyarāja

Maṇḍanadeva

Cāmuṇḍarāja

The object of the inscription is to record the foundation and endowment[2] of the temple of Maṇḍaleśa (Śiva)[3] by the last prince. It is dated in the last line in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1136 (*c.* 1080 A.D.) ; but through a mistake in V. 86 we are told that the *praśasti* was composed by Candra of the Sādhāra family when '1136 was elapsing since the Śaka king.' The record was written by Āsarāja of the Kāyastha race.[4]

1 The capital of this branch appears to have been near mod. Arthuna. According to Ojha it was named Utthuṇaka : *HR*, I, p. 208.

2 For this see Vs. 68-81, pp. 302-03 and 309-10, *EI*, Vol. XIV.

3 Apparently the same temple at Arthuna where the inscription was found. *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 296.

4 First noticed by Kielhorn in *IA*, Vol. XXII, p. 80. Then edited by Dr. Barnett in

An earlier inscription of the Paramāras of this branch is the *Panhera stone-inscription* engraved on a slab built into the wall of the temple of Maṇḍaleśvara Mahādeva at Panhera (Pāṇāheṛā), in Banswara State, Rajputana. It is broken into 3 pieces, of which the second is missing. The first 5 verses are in praise of Śiva. It then goes on to describe the origin of the Paramāras from the fire-pit on Mt. Arbuda, and extols the five Paramāra princes of Malwa, *viz.*, Sīyaka,[1] Muñjadeva, Sindhurāja, Bhoja and Jayasiṁha. Then follows the following genealogy of the local branch :—

Dhanika | ×
×
Cacca
× (Name lost)[2]
Satyarāja = Rājaśrī
Limbarāja | Maṇḍalika

The last prince, Maṇḍalika, was apparently a feudatory of Jayasiṁha. Maṇḍalika built at Pāsulākheṭaka a temple of the god Śiva known after him as Maṇḍaleśvara. The record is dated in (V.) S. 1116 (*c.* A.D. 1059).[3]

According to the Arthuna inscription, Kaṁka (Kakka) died fighting on the side of Śrī-Harṣa of Mālava, against the king of Karṇāṭa on the banks of the Narmadā. This Harṣa has rightly been identified with Harṣa-Sīyaka II (*c.* 949-70 A.D.) of the Mālava line, who in the Udayapur *praśasti* is eulogised for

EI, Vol XIV, pp. 295-300. In *EI*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 24, No. 145, Bhandarkar refers the inscription to the time of Maṇḍanadeva. His son, Cāmuṇḍarāja, according to him, is 'mentioned as merely living when the temple was built by Maṇḍana.'

[1] The name is broken; but it is restored from the latter part of the inscription, *RMR*, 1917, pp. 2-3.

[2] The *RMR*, 1917, pp. 2-3, restores it as 'Caṇḍapa' from the Arthuna inscription.

[3] Noticed in *ASI*, 1916-17, pp. 19-20; also in *RMR*, 1917, pp. 2-3 and *EI*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 22, No. 133.

taking the wealth of (the Rāṣṭrakūṭa) Khoṭṭaga, the successor of Kṛṣṇa III, of Malkhed (*c.* 940-56 A.D.). I have already suggested the identity of Kakka with Cacca of the Panhera inscription[1] because Cacca is credited in the latter record with the same achievement and a similar death on the banks of the Revā. The contemporaneity of Kakka-Cacca with Harṣa-Sīyaka II makes it seem very probable that Vairisiṁha who stands at the head of the genealogical table in the Arthuna inscription, is identical with the first prince of that name in the Mālava line.[2] If this is so the Banswara Paramāras, like the Abu Paramāras, would be a branch of the main line ruling in Lāṭa and Malava. The Banswara section claimed descent from Ḍambarasiṁha, brother of Vairisiṁha. But the exact relationship between the former and Kakka-Cacca is unknown. The Panhera inscription carries back the genealogy of this branch to Dhanika, the uncle of Cacca who is said to have built the temple of Dhaneśvara 'as white as snow,' near Mahākāla (at Ujjain).[3] Kakka-Cacca's son was Caṇḍapa who has been placed in *c.* 1000 A.D. by Dr. Barnett.[4] Nothing but vague praise is assigned to him in the Arthuna inscription. He was succeeded by Satyarāja who probably flourished in *c.* 1025 A.D. According to the Panhera inscription he 'received fortune' from Bhoja, and fought with the Gurjaras. His wife was Rājaśrī, of the illustrious family of the Cāhamānas. It would appear from this that he must have fought as a feudatory of Bhoja (*c.* 1010-55 A.D.), in the latter's struggles with Bhīma I (*c.* 1022-64 A.D.). According to the Arthuna inscription Satyarāja was succeeded by his son Limbarāja, and the latter by his younger brother Maṇḍalika. This Maṇḍalika appears to be the same as the Maṇḍanadeva of the Arthuna list. The Panhera inscription shows that this Maṇḍalika (Maṇḍana) was a feudatory of the Malwa Paramāra Jayasiṁha

1 See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 851; but the *ASI*, 1916-17, pp. 19-20, considers them to be separate.

2 *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 296, fn. 1.

3 *RMR*, 1917, pp. 2-3.

4 *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 296. This name appears to have been lost in the Panhera record.

(*c.* 1055-60 A.D.). The same record tells us that Maṇḍalika captured in battle the 'Commander Kanha' with his horses and elephants and handed him over to Jayasiṁha. The identity of this Kanha (Kṛṣṇa) is however uncertain.[1] According to the Arthuna inscription Maṇḍana was succeeded by his son Cāmuṇḍarāja.[2] He is said to have 'gloriously overcome' one Sindhurāja. Dr. Barnett rightly guessed that this Sindhurāja could not be identified with the Mālava Paramāra of that name who ruled in *c.* 994-1010 A.D. It is not unlikely that Sindhurāja may here mean a king of Sind, and Cāmuṇḍa may have undertaken an expedition to the lower Indus valley, in company with some of his more powerful neighbours. Besides the Arthuna inscription noticed above, there are two other records of Cāmuṇḍa which were discovered at the same place. These *two Arthuna inscriptions* bear the dates (V.) S. 1137 (*c.* 1080 A.D.) and 1159 (*c.* 1102 A.D.).[3] Both these records are much damaged. The former seems to mention the name of an officer of Cāmuṇḍarāja one of whose 3 sons, Anantapāla, founded a temple of Śiva, probably the same temple amongst the ruins of which the record is stated to have been discovered. The other is much defaced, and is said to have been found in a Jain temple.[4]

The fortunate discovery of an image of Hanumān at Arthuna in the year 1918 has revealed the name of Cāmuṇḍarāja's son and successor. The pedestal of this image bears an inscription dated in (V.) S. 1165 (*c.* 1108 A.D.), in the reign of Vijayarāja,

[1] In the Arthuna inscription of Vijayarāja (V.S. 1166) Maṇḍalika is said to have killed Sindhurāja, *EI*, XX, *App.*, p. 29, No. 179. I have however tentatively accepted the view of Kielhorn and Barnett.

[2] See above, fn. 1, on p. 920.

[3] Noticed in *RMR*, 1915, p. 2. See also *ASI*, *WC*, 1909, p. 49; *ibid*, 1915, p. 35.

[4] In the Arthuna inscription of Vijayarāja (V.S. 1166 = *c.* 1109 A.D.) Cāmuṇḍarāja (*c.* 1080-1102 A.D.) is said to have destroyed the king of Avanti in the Sthalī (Vāgaḍa) country, *EI*, Vol XX, *Appendix*, p. 99, No. 179. This king of Avanti was probably the Caulukya Jayasiṁha Siddharāja (*c.* 1094-1141 A.D.) who invaded and conquered Malava and assumed the title *Avantinātha*. See *JBRAS*, Vol. XXV, 1917-21, pp. 322 ff.; also *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*.

the son of Cāmuṇḍarāja and the grandson of Maṇḍana. Another Arthuna stone-inscription of this king dated in V.S. 1166 (*c.* 1109 A.D.) is preserved in the Rajputana Museum.[2] What happened to this branch after the reign of Vijayarāja is at present unknown. It seems likely that they were gradually ousted from this region by the rising power of the Guhilas of Mewar. The Guhila prince Sāmantasiṁha (*c.* 1171-79 A.D.), after being in turn ousted from Mewar is reported to have founded a principality in that portion of Vāgaḍa which is now known as the Dungarpur State.[3]

(4) *Paramāras of Jalor (Jāvālipura).*

The existence of this branch is known from a stone-inscription dated in V.S. 1174 (*c.* 1118 A.D.) which is reported to have been discovered in a temple of Śiva at Jalor, in the State of Jodhpur. It supplies the following list of the princes of this family: (1) Vākpati-rāja, his son, (2) Candana, his son, (3) Devarāja, his son, (4) Aparājita, his son, (5) Vijjala, his son, (6) Dhārāvarṣa, and his son, (7) Vīsala. It records that in the year mentioned above Mallāradevī, the queen of No. 7, placed a golden *Kalaśa* on the temple of Sindhurājeśvara.[4] Rai Bahadur G. H. Ojha thinks that this line was an offshoot of the Abu Paramāras, and he refers Vākpatirāja of this inscription and Mahīpāla-Devarāja of the Abu line to the same period. To me however it seems that the Vākpati of the Jalor inscription was possibly Vākpati II (*c.* 974-95 A.D.) of the Mālava line, and thus he may be identical with Utpalarāja to whom the earlier Abu Paramāras trace their genealogy.[5] In that case we must suppose that after conquering

1 *BMR*, 1918, p. 2.

2 *ASI, WC*, 1909, p. 49; Ojha, *HR*, I, p. 208.

3 *Ibid.*; see also *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Guhila-putras*.

4 Noticed by Bhandarkar in *ASI, WC*, 1909, p. 54; see also *HR*, I, 182.

5 This conclusion may have to be modified after an examination of the inscription. But see *EI*, XX, *Appendix*, p. 81, fn. 2.

over Dadhipadra and other *maṇḍalas*. 'The...*mantrī* appointed by him at Dadhipadra established the temple of Goga-Nārāyaṇa, for the good of his mother,' in V.S. 1196 (*c.* 1140 A.D.).[1]

(6) *Talwara image-inscription.*—Found in Talwara in the Banswara State in South Rajputana; incised on the pedestal of an image of Gaṇapati. It traces the genealogy of Siddharāja-Jayasiṁha from Bhīma. We are told that Jayasiṁha 'humbled the pride of Naravarman, crushed Paramardi and founded a temple of Gaṇanātha.' The date is defaced.[2]

(7) *Udayapur stone-inscription.*—Contains 12 lines, incised outside the entrance of the great temple in the town of Udayapur, in Gwalior State. It is dated in the victorious reign of Jayasiṁha.[3]

(8) *Bali stone-inscription.*—Found at Bali, in Jodhpur State. It contains 6 lines. It opens with the date (V.) *Saṁvat* 1200 in the reign of *M.*-Jayasiṁhadeva, and then mentions the (Marwar Cāhamāna) *Mahārāja* Āśvaka as his feudatory. It records the grant of four *drammas* by Bopaṇava-Stambhana in connection with the festival of the goddess Bahughṛṇā.[4]

(9) *Sambhar stone-inscription.*—'Found fixed in a well known as Umar shāh-kā-kuan at Sambhar in Jaipur State in Rajputana. It is engraved on two blank stone slabs and contains 28 lines of which the last 14 lines are more or less damaged. The record opens with an invocation to the goddess Sarasvatī and some other gods and then gives the genealogy of the Caulukyas from Mūlarāja to Jayasiṁha. It states that after

[1] Edited by H. H. Dhruva, *IA*, Vol. XX, pp. 158-60. In the opinion of some scholars (*EI*, Vol. XIX, *Appendix*, p. 30, No. 250), a Kiradu inscription of Kumārapāla supplies the date V.S. 1198 (?) for this reign. On this date the local Paramāra prince of Kirāṭakūpa is said to have recovered his lost kingdom through the help of the (Caulukya) Jayasiṁha Siddharāja. See also *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 926.

[2] Noticed in *RMR*, 1915, p. 2. The date, though defaced, 'falls between *Saṁvat* 1161 and 1195' (A.D. 1104-1139).

[3] Noticed by Kielhorn from an imperfect paper-rubbing in *IA*, Vol. XVIII, p. 341.

[4] Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar, *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 32-33. Āśvaka is the same as Āśārāja and Aśvarāja.

the expiry of 998 years from Vikrama, Mūladeva came to the crest of the earth in this dynasty. From the provenance of the inscription as well as the fact that 'Sambhar' is actually mentioned in the inscription, it is possible to conclude that Jayasiṁha actually held Sambhar for some time.[1]

These inscriptions range from *c.* 1127 to 1143 A.D. According to the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* of Merutuṅga Jayasiṁha's reign extended over a period of 49 years, V.S. 1150-1199 (*c.* 1094-1143 A.D.).[2] This agrees with the period assigned in the *Therāvalī* of the same author.[3] The *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī* and the *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī* allot him a period of 50 years.[4] The Bali stone-inscription, dated in V.S. 1200, seems to support the Muslim tradition. According to the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi,* he ascended the throne when he was still very young, and the power in the state appears to have fallen into the hands of his mother, the dowager queen Mayaṇalladevī.[5] It is not therefore unlikely, as Bhagvanlal has suggested, that the circumstances that led to the coronation of Jayasiṁha were attended with violence and court intrigue.[6] The unusual sorrow of Devaprasāda which led him to burn himself alive to follow Karṇa[7] and the violent death of Madanapāla, the brother of queen Udayamatī, Karṇa's mother,[8] may be connected with intrigues and struggles for the succession. Merutuṅga seems to indicate that one of the most important acts of the queen-mother Mayaṇalladevī was the abolition of the tax at Bāhuloḍa,[9] on the pilgrims going to

[1] Edited by Bisheswar Nath Reu, *IA*, 1929, pp. 234-36. The inscription is now in the Sardar Museum, Jodhpur.

[2] *PC*, pp. 80 and 115.

[3] *JBRAS*, Vol. IX, p. 155.

[4] *AAK*, Vol. II, p. 260; *MA*, Trans., p. 148; *BHG*, p. 27.

[5] *PC*, pp. 80 ff.

[6] *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 171-72.

[7] *Dvyāśraya*, *IA*, Vol. IV, p. 265.

[8] *PC*, pp. 81-82.

[9] 'Apparently mod. Bholada on the Gujarat-Kathiawad frontier about 23 miles SW. of Dholka,' in the Ahmedabad District : *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 172.

Somnath. According to him the tax yielded seventy-two lakhs to the royal treasury.[1]

Jayasiṁha was a great warrior. The provenance of the inscriptions, which come from the States of Kotah, Banswara, Gwalior, Jodhpur, Jaipur, Dhrangadra, Cutch, the Panch Mahals, and Ujjain show that his dominions must have extended over large portions of Central India and Rajputana, besides Gujarat, Kathiawar and Cutch.[2] According to the chroniclers, one of his earliest wars was against the Ābhīra rulers of Saurāṣṭra. According to Merutuṅga, the Abhīra ruler Navaghana[3] had advanced from Girnar, and having defeated the Caulukya armies eleven times, 'had caused to be thrown up ramparts round Vardhamāna[4] and other cities.' Jayasiṁha personally marched against him and after killing Navaghana appointed Sajjana as his *Daṇḍādhipati* 'to superintend the affairs of Surāṣṭra.'[5] Merutuṅga's account of the conquest of Surāṣṭra is confirmed by the Dohad inscription, noticed above, which tells us that Jayasiṁha imprisoned the prince of that country. Bhagvanlal Indraji drew attention to an inscription of Sajjana in the temple of Neminātha at Girnar, dated in V.S. 1176 (A.D. 1120).[6]

Jayasiṁha's next war was against his western neighbours, the rulers of Mālava. According to Merutuṅga Yaśovarman, king of Mālava, invaded and overran Gujarat, when Jayasiṁha was absent from his capital, on a pilgrimage to Someśvara. The minister Sāntu, who was left in charge, was compelled to wash the feet of the Paramāra king and throw 'into the hollow of his hand a handful of water' as a sign of the transference

[1] *PC*, p. 84.

[2] A Kiradu inscription states that Udayarāja, the local Paramāra chief fought for Jayasiṁha in Coḍa, Gauḍa, Karṇāta and Mālava; see *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Paramāras*, p. 926.

[3] *Alias* Khengāra, *PC*, p. 95. See *DHNI*, Vol. II, *supra*, fn. 2 on p. 941. Navaghana was certainly connected with Grāharipu, the enemy of Mūlarāja.

[4] Mod. Wadhwan in Jhalawar.

[5] *PC*, 95-96.

[6] *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 176-77.

of the spiritual merit which his master had gained by his pilgrimage to Somnath. The angry Caulukya king, when he returned, waged incessant wars for 12 years and in the end stormed Dhārā, imprisoned Yaśovarman and led him in triumph to Pattana.[1] According to the *Dvyāśraya* Jayasiṁha advanced on Ujjain ' by daily stages of eight *kos*,' entered it, and 'seizing Yaśovarman, imprisoned him and brought all Avantideśa with Dhārā under subjection to himself. Afterwards Jayasiṁha seized and imprisoned a raja of that country near to Ujjain named Sim and several other Rajas. Some of them he caged like birds, some he chained by the neck like cattle, or by legs like horses.'[2] The *Kumārapāla-carita* tells us that Jayasiṁha destroyed Dhārā and killed Naravarman.[3] The *Vasanta-vilāsa* contains the statement that Jayasiṁha brought from Ujjayinī *Yoginī-pīṭha*[4] and defeated and imprisoned the lord of Dhārā ' like a *suka* bird in a cage.'[4] The substantial accuracy of these statements of the chroniclers seems to be proved by epigraphic evidence. The epithet *Avantinātha*, which first appears in the Gala inscription (A.D.1137), seems to have been accepted as a regular title by Jayasiṁha. The Talwara inscription informs us that Jayasiṁha humbled the pride of Naravarman while the Dohad pillar inscription states that he threw into prison the ruler of Mālava. The statement of the Dohad inscription is supported by the Vadnagar *praśasti* of Kumārapāla which also states that Jayasiṁha "fettered the proud king of Mālava."[6] The Talwara, the Udaipur, and above all the fragmentary Ujjain inscriptions testify to the accuracy

[1] *PC*, pp. 85 ff.

[2] *IA*, Vol. IV, p. 266. Before the declaration of war Jayasiṁha vowed to 'encage' Yaśovarman ' like a parrot.'

[3] Nirnayasagar Press Ed. Bombay, 1926, V. 41.

[4] For stories about Jayasiṁha's relations with Kālikā and other *Yoginis* of Ujjain see *Dvyāśraya*, *IA*, p. 266. The *Yoginis* are said to have fought against the Caulukya ruler when he attacked Ujjain.

[5] Gaekwad Oriental Series, No. VII, 1917, III, 22-23.

[6] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 293 ff., V. 11.

of the epigraphic and literary tradition. As both Naravarman (*c.* 1097-1111 A.D.) and Yaśovarman (*c.* 1134-42 A.D.) were contemporaries of Jayasiṁha (*c.* 1094-1143 A.D.) it seems quite probable that both of them lost their lives in the protracted struggle which lasted for about 12 years.[1] Bühler has already pointed out that in the 12th century, as now, one of the great routes from Gujarat into Malwa passed through the Panch Mahals. The appointment of *Senāpati* Keśava in Dohad shows that Jayasiṁha was well aware of the strategic importance of this route in his wars with the Paramāras, and was determined to hold this high-road to Dhārā and Mandu for the free movement of his own troops.[2] According to Sundha Hill inscription of Cāciga, Jayasiṁha was assisted in the campaigns in Mālava by the Naḍḍūla Cāhamāna Āśārāja.[3]

The virtual annexation of the Paramāra territories in Mālwa and Southern Rajputana brought Jayasiṁha into touch with the Candellas, the Kalacuris, and probably the Gaharwars. The *Kumārapāla-carita* claims that Jayasiṁha defeated Madanavarman the lord of Mahobaka[4] (*c.*1129-63 A.D.). According to the *Kīrtikaumudī*, he went from Dhārā to Kālañjara.[5] As I have already suggested elsewhere, it appears from the chronicles that Jayasiṁha did not derive much material advantage from his wars with the Candellas.[6] But the authenticity of the statements of these chronicles about this war seems to be proved by a Kālañjar stone-inscription which refers to a victory of Madanavarman over the Gurjara king.[7] The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*

[1] See also *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Paramāras*, pp. 883 ff.

[2] *IA*, Vol. X, pp. 161-62.

[3] *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 72 and 76, V. 36 ff., see above, p. 967, inscription No. 8. A reference to Jayasiṁha's conflict with the Paramāras of Vāgaḍa is possibly contained in the Arthuna inscription of Vijayarāja (V.S. 1166). His father Cāmuṇḍarāja (*c.* 1060-1102 A. D) is said to have defeated a king of Avanti in the Sthali (Vāgaḍa) country, see *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 923, fn. 4.

[4] *I*, 42.

[5] See above, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 710-11 : see also *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 178-79.

[6] See above, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 710 ; also p. 710, fn. 4.

[7] *Ibid* ; a similar statement also occurs in *Pṛthvirāja-Raso*. See *IA*, 1098, p. 144.

informs us that the 'king of the country of Ḍāhala' wrote to Jayasiṁha 'a letter of alliance,' and that the latter maintained diplomatic relations with 'Jayacandra,' 'king of Benares.'[1] This king of Ḍāhala was probably the Kalacuri Yaśaḥ-Karṇa (*c.*1073-1125 A.D.). But the name of the Gāhaḍavāla king 'Jayacandra' (*c.* 1170-93 A.D.) given by Merutuṅga appears to be a mistake for Govindacandra (*c.* 1114-55 A.D.).[2]

The Dohad and the Talwara inscriptions seem to contain references to two other wars of Jayasiṁha. The former tells us that he 'destroyed Sindhurāja and others and made the kings of the north bear his commands on their heads like Śeṣa.'[3] Though it is difficult to find the name of this ruler of Sind, he is without doubt one of the Sumra chiefs who ruled at Manṣūra from *c.* 1025 to 1362 A.D.[4] In fighting with the rulers of Sind, Jayasiṁha was merely following a policy which was laid down by the founder of his dynasty nearly a century before his time.[5] His other war appears to have been against a ruler named Paramardī. The Talwara epigraph states that he 'crushed Paramardī.' This Paramardī must be differentiated from the Candella Paramardī, who ruled *c.* 1167 to 1202 A.D.[6] I would suggest the identity of this prince with the Cāḷukya Vikramāditya VI of Kalyani (*c.* 1055 to 1126 A.D.), who was also known as Paramardideva.[7]

According to the chronicles, there was yet another struggle in which Jayasiṁha was involved. This was waged against a prince named Barbaraka.[8] According to the *Dvyāśraya*

[1] *PC*, pp. 94 and 112. 'Jayacandra' is apparently Jayaccandra of the inscriptions. See *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 536 ff.

[2] See above, *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 515 ff.

[3] The *Kīrtikaumudī* also mentions 'the binding of the lord of Sindhu.' *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 179.

[4] See above, *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 20 ff.

[5] See above, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 942.

[6] This identification is suggested in *RMR*, 1915, p. 2. For the Candella Paramardī, see *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 718 ff.

[7] See *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 515. The inscription (No. 9) may indicate that Jayasiṁha also defeated the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī and for some time at least occupied their capital.

[8] Ibid., Vol. I, Part I, pp. 174-75, and fn. 1 on p. 174.

this chief was assisted by the younger brother of 'the Rāja of Aṅtardhanadeśa.' As the followers of Barbaraka are described by Hemacandra as *Rākṣasas*,[1] who troubled the Brāhman sages at Śrīsthala-tīrtha (Siddhapur) he may have been a leader of some non-Āryan tribe. According to Bhagvanlal, the modern representatives of this tribe 'are the Bābarias, settled in South Kathiawar, in the province still known as Bābariāvāda.'[2] Hemacandra tells us that Jayasiṁha led an army against this chief and defeated and imprisoned him. But on the assurance given by his wife Piṅgalīkā that he would leave the Brāhmans in peace, he was released; and henceforth became a faithful servant of the Caulukya king. That this account of Hemacandra is based on fact is shown by the title *Varvaraka-Jiṣṇu* first founded in the Ujjain epigraph dated V.S.1195 (*c.* 1139-40 A.D.).[3]

The chronicles represent Jayasiṁha as a great builder. Amongst the numerous structures ascribed to him may be mentioned the temple of Rudra-mahākāla at Siddhapur and the great artificial lake Sahasraliṅga at Pattan.[4] Both these works show Jayasiṁha to have been a devotee of the Śaiva faith. Bhagvanlal Indraji has shown that the attempts of Hemacandra and other Jain chroniclers to represent him as leaning toward Jainism have little foundation. The facts at our disposal rather point the

[1] But he also calls Barbaraka a *Kṣatriya*; see *IA*, Vol. IV, p. 265. Jayasiṁha Sūri calls him *duṣṭaṁ Barbarakaṁ śūram*. See *Kumārapāla-carita*, I, 44.

[2] *Ibid*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 174-75, and *fn.* 1 on p. 174.

[3] The *Kīrtikaumudī* of Someśvara tells us that, like Viṣṇu, Jayasiṁha conquered (the Cāhamāna) Arṇorāja (ocean), but, unlike him, married his daughter (Lakṣmī) to the Śākambharī prince. Bhagvanlal Indraji thought that this was a mistake and that the war and peace really took place in the reign of Kumārapāla. *JRAS*, 1913, p. 274. *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 179. But see *Dvyāśraya* (*IA*, Vol. IV, p. 261), which also says that Āna of Sapādalakṣa bent his head before Jayasiṁha. It is possible that the Kiradu Paramāra Udayarāja (see *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 926), whose might is said to have spread "as far as Coḍa, Gauḍa, Karṇāṭa and Mālava" was a feudatory of Jayasiṁha.

[4] *PC*, pp. 90 ff.; see for a reference to the list of buildings ascribed to him *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 180, fn. 2.

other way.[1] Jayasiṁha, however, honoured Hemacandra and other Jain monks for their learning, and there are stories that he used to hold discussions between the rival sections of that religious fraternity.[2] According to the *Dvyāśraya* he established schools for the study of the *Jyotiṣa-śāstras*, *Nyāya-śāstras*, and *Purāṇas*, and he built a hundred and eight temples of Caṇḍikādeva and others at the Sahasraliṅga tank.[3] The same authority tells us that Kumārapāla the successor of Jayasiṁha started an era during his reign. This must refer to the era known as the Siṁha era the epoch of which is A.D. 1113-14. We have a Mangroḷ inscription of Kumārapāla dated in the 32nd year of this era. But the Atru stone-inscription, dated in the year 14 shows that the era was already in use during Jayasiṁha's reign. We must therefore conclude that Abhayatilaka, who completed the *Dvyāśraya*, committed a mistake in giving the credit for establishing this era to Kumārapāla. The institution of this new era is another evidence of Jayasiṁha's successful administration.

In spite of all these victories in peace and war, one sorrow constantly gnawed at Jayasiṁha's heart. He had no son. The chronicles tell us that all his prayers to the gods proved in vain. The god Mahādeva himself told him that " his brother[4] Tribhuvanapāla's son Kumārapāla should sit on his throne."[5] The relationship of Kumārapāla with Jayasiṁha may be shown by the following table :—

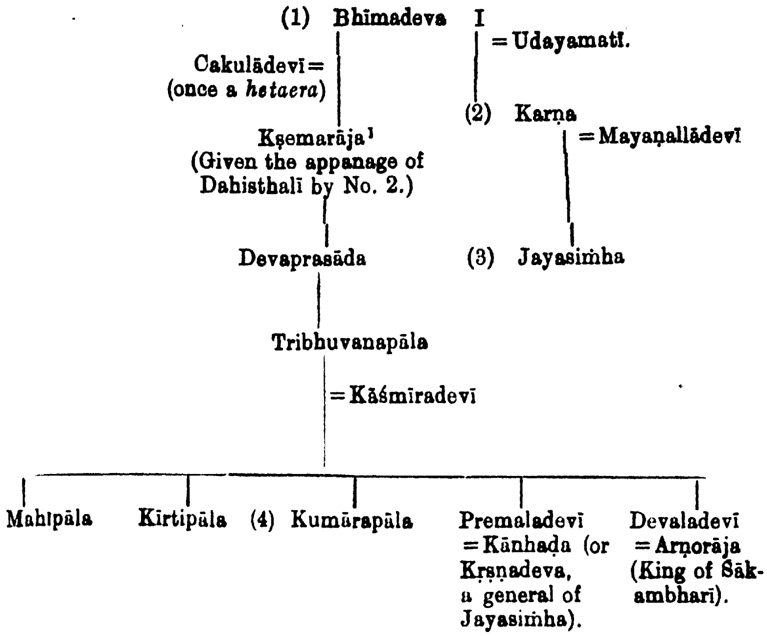
[1] *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 179. See also *PC* (p. 90) which in recording the ceremony of setting up the flag on the temple of Rudra-mahākāla says : On this occasion " he had the flags of all the Jaina temples lowered, as in the country of Mālava when the banner of Mahākāla is displayed, no flag is hoisted on any Jaina temple."

[2] See for example *PC*, pp. 97 ff. The story of the Digambara Kumudacandra and the Śvetāmbara Śrideva.

[3] *IA*, Vol, IV, p. 267.

[4] ' Brother ' is probably a mistake. Authorities differ as to the ancestry of Kumārapāla. In another place the *Dvyāśraya* (*IA*, IV, p. 267) describes Jayasiṁha as Kumārapāla's "uncle."

[5] *Dvyāśraya*, *IA*, Vol. IV, p. 267 ; see also *Kumārapāla-carita*, III, 1-50. *Kumārapāla-pratibodha*, p. 5.



Merutuṅga tells us that 'as Kumārapāla was of low birth, Siddharāja could not bear the idea of his inheriting the throne and was always on the look-out for an opportunity of compassing his destruction.'[2] The same authority adds that Siddharāja had adopted as his son 'the prince named Bāhaḍa, the son of the prime minister Udayanadeva.'[3] The chronicles make it quite clear that during the later years of Jayasiṁha's reign his court was divided into two factions. The *Kumārapāla-carita* tells us that owing to his hatred of Kumārapāla '[4] Jayasiṁha killed the latter's father Tribhuvanapāla, and drove Kumārapāla

[1] Merutunga's *Therāvali* (*JBRAS*, Vol. IX, p. 155) has 'Devapāla' in the place of 'Devaprasāda.' The contemporary *Dvyāśraya*, gives Kṣemarāja and Karṇa as the names of the two sons of Bhīma. Kṣemarāja's son was Devaprasāda. *PC*, p. 116, gives Bhīma; his son Haripāla; his son Tribhuvanapāla; his son Kumārapāla. *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 181, gives Bhīma; his son Kṣemarāja; his son Haripāla; his son Tribhuvanapāla; his son Kumārapāla.

[2] *PC*, p. 116.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 120.

[4] Abu'l-Faẓl also says that 'Kumārapāla Solanki through fear of his life lived in retirement' till Jayasiṁha's death. *AAK*, Vol. II, p. 263.

into exile. After long wanderings in distant countries[1] he at last came back to Aṇahilla-pattana and took shelter in the house of his brother-in-law Kṛṣṇadeva. Though there is no definite evidence, yet the sudden death of Jayasiṁha within 7 days of the arrival of Kumārapāla at Anhilvad looks rather suspicious.[2] The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* tells us that Kumārapāla was so closely pursued that he was at last compelled to take shelter with the 'great minister' Udayana at Cambay. The latter was persuaded to help Kumārapāla to escape by the emphatic statement of the Jain monk Hemacandra that Kumārapāla would be installed as king "in the 1199th year of the era of Vikramāditya,[3] on the second day of Karttika, on a Sunday, in the *nakṣatra* of Hasta." This prognosis of Hemacandra was attended by the practical admonition of the monk to Kumārapāla that he "must be grateful" and "always devoted to the law of the Jina."[4] We are told that Kumārapāla 'reverently accepted this admonition.' Jayasiṁha did not long survive this compact, and it seems certain that even if Jayasiṁha's death was natural,[5] Kumārapāla's elevation to the throne was to some extent aided by the powerful Jain party in Gujarat. According to Merutuṅga, after Jayasiṁha's death Kānhaḍadeva 'made his forces ready for battle,' and played the part of a king-maker. It appears that, including Kumārapāla, there were three candidates for the throne. Kānhaḍadeva found the other two unfit for kingship, and ordered Kumārapāla to ascend the throne. Kumārapāla was at this time 50 years of age.[6] Once in power, he proved to be a vigorous and effective ruler. The disaffected ministers were 'all dismissed

1 Vaṭapadra, Bhṛgukaccha, Ujjayinī, Kāñcī, and Citrakūṭa; see *Kumārapāla-carita*, III, 67 ff.; also *PC*, pp. 116 ff.

2 *Kumārapāla-carita*, III, 448-49.

3 But see above, p. 967, inscription No. 8 of Jayasiṁha which is dated in V.S. 1200.

4 *PC*, pp. 117-18.

5 The Mangrol inscription of the time of Kumārapāla significantly says: 'When king Siddharāja.........died *accidentally*...............Kumārapāla took possession of his kingdom. See *BI*, p. 160.

6 *PC*, pp. 118-19.

to the city of Yama,' and even his sister's husband, who had become haughty and contemptuous, was blinded and had his limbs paralysed by royal orders. After this most of the officers submitted, but Bāhaḍa, Jayasiṁha's adopted son, escaped and with a section of the royal army took service under the king of Sapādalakṣa.[1] According to the *Kumārapāla-carita*, Kumārapāla after his coronation made Bhopalladevī, his *Pattarājñī* and Udayana his chief minister.[2] This Udayana was no doubt the same man who had helped him to escape from the fury of Jayasiṁha at Cambay.

Of the time of Kumārapāla we have the following published records:

(1) *Mangrol stone-inscription.*—Found incised on a piece of hard black stone, "built up in the wall to the right in descending into a Vāo (Vāpi) near the Gadis' gate at Mangrol in Junagarh," South Kathiawar. It contains 25 lines, and opens with *Oṁ namaḥ Śivāya* and an invocation to Hara. It then praises Kumārapāla, who succeeded Siddharāja. Next follows the genealogy of a family of Guhila chiefs.[3] Amongst these Sahajiga became a commander of the Caulukya forces. His sons grew so powerful that they were able to protect the Saurāṣṭra country. One of these, named Samarāja set up an idol of the god Maheśvara; and another named *Ṭha(kkura)* Mūluka made some grants for the service of the god. In lines 23-25 the record is dated in V.S. 1202 (A.D. 1145) and Siṁha *Saṁvat* 32. It was composed by the *Parama-Pāśupatācārya-mahāpaṇḍita* Prasarvadnya.[4]

(2) *Dohad stone-pillar inscription.*—This short inscription is incised at the end of No. 5 of Jayasiṁha. It records that

[1] *Ibid*, p. 120.

[2] III, 474 ff. The *Kumārapāla-carita* gives the name Padmāvatī as that of another queen of Kumārapāla (*BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 186). The *Ras* (Vol. I, pp. 192-96) gives the tragic story of a Sesodia queen of Kumārapāla, of the House of Mewar.

[3] For details see *DHNI*, Vol. II, *infra*, chapter on the *Guhila-putras*.

[4] *BI*, pp. 158-60; *ARB*, pp. 179-80.

in V.S. 1202 (*c.* 1145-46 A.D.) '*Rāṇa* Sāṁkarasīha, who attained to greatness under the good graces of the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Vāpanadeva, residing at Godrahaka, gave three ploughs of land in the village of Āśviliyā-Kōḍā in the *pathaka* of Ubhloḍa, for (the expenses of) the worship of the god (Goga-Nārāyaṇa).[1]

(3) *Kiradu inscription* (*i*).—It belongs to the time of the Kiradu Paramāra Someśvara, a feudatory of Kumārapāla. It is dated in V. S. 1205.[2]

(4) *Chitorgadh stone-inscription* (*i*).—Incised on a slab of black marble preserved in the temple of Mokalji at Chitorgadh in the Udaipur State, Rajputana. It contains 28 lines, and is much damaged. It opens with *Om namaḥ Sarvajñāya* and 4 verses invoking Śiva (Śarva, Mṛḍa, and Samiddheśvara) and Sarasvatī, and then eulogises the family of the Caulukyas. In that family was born Mūlarāja. After many other kings of this line came Siddharāja, who was succeeded by Kumārapāladeva. The proper object of the inscription is to record that in the course of his campaigns against the rulers of Śākambharī he came to the Citrakūṭa mountain, and having worshipped the god Samiddheśvara and his consort granted a village (name lost) and made some donations to his temple. The *praśasti* was written by the chief of the Digambaras Rāmakīrti. The date (V.) *Saṁvat* 1207 (*c.* 1150 A.D.) comes at the end.[3]

(5) *Chitorgadh stone-inscription* (*ii*).—The record is fragmentary and highly weather-worn. It contains the genealogy of the Caulukyas from Mūlarāja to Kumārapāla. The former was born in the race of Caulukya who was in his turn born from the hollow of the palm of Brahmā. Then follows the usual genealogy from Mūlarāja to Jayasiṁha. After him,

1 Edited by Dhruva, *IA*, Vol. X, pp. 159-60. He took this inscription to be a part of Jayasiṁha's (5), and wrongly referred it to the reign of Jayasiṁha. Though the name of the reigning king is not mentioned in it, inscription No. 1 shows that it must belong to Kumārapāla's reign.

2 See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 925 f.

3 Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 421-24. The place Śālipura mentioned in this inscription, where Kumārapāla pitched his camp has not yet been identified.

Kumārapāla, son of Tribhuvanapāla who was son of Devaprasāda, son of Kṣemarāja, who was son of Bhīmadeva (I).[1]

(6) *Vadnagar praśasti.*—Incised on a stone slab in the Arjun-Bārī near the Sāmelā tank at Vadnagar in Gujarat. It contains 46 lines, opening with *Om namaḥ Śivāya* and a *maṅgala* addressed to Brahman. The next 17 verses give an account of the origin of the Caulukyas, and traces their genealogy down to Kumārapāla. Verses 19 to 29 praise the ancient Brāhmanic settlement of Nagara or Ānandapura,[2] and the rampart which Kumārapāla raised round it. V. 30 gives us the name of the author of the *praśasti*, Śrīpāla, who, we are told, was adopted as a brother by Siddharāja and bore the title *Kavi-cakravartin.*[3] The record was written in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1208 (*c.* 1151 A.D.) by the Nāgara Brāhman, *Paṇḍit* Vālhana.[4]

(7) *Kiradu stone pillar-inscription* (*ii*).—Found incised on a white stone pillar at Kiradu, 'a small village near Hāthamo under Bāḍmera, in Marwar in Rajputana. It contains 21 lines of very damaged and fragmentary writing. It opens with the date (V.) Saṁvat 1209 (*c.* 1153 A.D.), in the victorious reign of *Rājādhirāja*-Kumārapāla, 'who has conquered all kings,' by the grace of Śaṅkara, the lord of Pārvatī,' and then records that when Mahādeva was 'in charge of the signet and the seal, etc.'[5] (the Naḍḍula Cāhamāna) *Mahārāja* Ālhaṇadeva on the Śivarātri Caturdaśi, and certain other specified days gave security for the lives of animals. No life was to be taken under penalty of a fine for persons belonging to the royal family and of

[1] Originally found at Chitorgadh; now in the Victoria Hall, Udaipur. *ASI, WC*, 1905-06, p. 61, No. 2220 ; *EI*, Vol. XX, p. 209, No. 1522.

[2] Mod. Vādnagar (Sanskrit Vṛddha-nagara), in the Kheralu sub-division of the Kaḍi district, Baroda State. For the antiquity of this place see *EI*, Vol. I, p. 295.

[3] He was the poet-laureate of Jayasiṁha ; see Kielhorn, *ibid.*

[4] Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 293-305. First noticed by Dhruva, *IA*, Vol. X, p. 160.

[5] *Śrīkaraṇādau samasta-mudrā-vyāpārān paripan*......(lost). According to Dr. Barnett this seems to mean : 'being in charge (?) of all the functions of the Seal in the Treasury (*Śrī Karaṇa*).

capital punishment for others. The record was written by *Mahārājaputra-Sāndhivigrahika Ṭhakkura* Khelāditya.[1]

(8) *Pāli inscription.*—It is engraved on a pilaster close by the sanctum in the *Sabhāmaṇḍapa* of the temple of Somanātha at Pāli (Pallikā-grāma), in Jodhpur State. It is dated in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1209 in the reign of Kumārapāla.[2]

(9) *Ratanpur stone-inscription.*—Contains 11 lines, incised on a stone in the dome of an old Śaiva temple outside the town of Ratanpur in Jodhpur State, Rajputana. It is damaged, the 1st and the 7th lines being almost illegible. It opens with an invocation to Śiva, and is then dated in the victorious reign of *M.-Pb.-P.*-Kumārapāla.[3] The inscription then records the publication of an order of Girijādevī, the *Mahārājñī* of Pūnapākṣadeva, successor of (the Naḍḍūla Cāhamāna) *Mahārāja* Rāyapāla, prohibiting slaughter of animals on some specified dates. The violation of the order was to be punished with fines. On the Amāvāsyā day even the potters were ordered not to burn their pots. The edict was made public through Pūtiga and Sāliga, the two sons of the *Śrāvaka* Subhaṁkara belonging to the Prāgvaṭa-vaṁśa and Naḍḍula-pura. It was written by *Ṭhakkura* Asapāla.[4]

(10) *Bhatund stone pillar-inscription.*—Incised on one of the pillars of the *Sabhā-maṇḍapa* of a dilapidated temple in the village of Bhatund, about a mile to the south of Bijapur in the Jodhpur State. The record is 'highly weather-worn.' and its object is not clear. It is dated in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1210 (A.D. 1154) in the reign of 'the Caulukya sovereign Kumārapāla and mentions

[1] *BI*, pp. 172-78. For Ālhaṇadeva's other inscriptions (V.S. 1218-36) see *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 63-66; Vol. XI, pp. 43-46.

[2] Noticed by D. R. Bhandarkar, *ASI, WC*, 1907-08, pp. 44-45; see also *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 70.

[3] As in No. 5......" illustrious by the favour of *Pārvati-pati* " (line 2).

[4] *BI*, pp. 205-207. See also *EI*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 209, No. 1523. The record is not dated in any era.

the *Daṇḍanāyaka* Vaijāka.[1] who was apparently in charge of the Naḍḍūla district.[2]

(11) *Nadol grant.*—The plate was found 'in the possession of the *Panchāyat* of the village of Nādol, in the Desuri district, Jodhpur State. It contains 13 lines of writing in Sanskrit prose ; there is a benedictory verse towards the end. It opens with the date (V.) *Sam.* 1213 (A.D. 1156) when *Pb.-M.-P.-Umāpativara-labdha-prasāda-prauḍhapratāpa-nijabhuja - vikrama-raṇāṁgaṇa-vinirjita-Śākambharī-bhūpāla*-Kumārapāla was reigning at Aṇahilapāṭaka and when the *Mahāmātya* Bāhaḍadeva was transacting the business of the Seal, etc. It then records a grant made by his feudatory, the *Mahāmaṇḍalika* Pratāpasiṁha of the Vaḍāṇā clan (*anvaya*). The grant consists of one *rūpaka* per day from the custom-house (*maṇḍapikā*) of Badarī to some Jaina temples at Nadūlaḍāgikā (mod. Nadlai) and Lavaṁḍaḍi. The inscription was written by the *Gauḍānvaya-Kāyastha-Paṇḍita* Mahīpāla.[3]

(12) *Bali Inscription.*—Incised on a lintel in the temple of Bahuguṇa Mātā at Bali, the principal town of the district of the same name in Jodhpur State. It is dated in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1216 (A.D. 1159) in the reign of Kumārapāla. On that date his *Daṇḍanāyaka* at Naddūla was Vayajaladeva and '*Jahāgirdār*' of Vālahi (mod. Bali) was Anupameśvara. The inscription

[1] Also known as Vaījā, Vaijalladeva, and Vayajaladeva. The following inscriptions also mention him :

(*a*) A stone inscription in the Mahāvira temple at Sevadi (Jodhpur State) dated in V.S. 1213 speaks of *Daṁḍa* Vaījā as ruling in Naḍūla.

(*b*) A stone inscription in a Jaina temple at Ghanerav in the Desuri district (Jodhpur State) is dated in V.S. 1213 in the reign of *Daṁḍanāyaka* Vaijalladeva.

(*c*) A stone inscription in a lintel of the *Sabhā-maṇḍapa* of the temple of Bālā or Babuguṇa Mātā at Bali, dated in V.S. 1216, in the reign of Kumārapāla, speaks of *Daṁḍa* Vayajaladeva as ruling in Naddrūla.

(*d*) Inscription No. 2 of the Caulukya Ajayapāla, dated in V.S. 1231 mentions *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Vaijalladeva of the Cāhuyāṇa (Cāhamāna) family.

See *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 70 and fn. 4.

[2] Noticed in *ASI*, WC. 1908, pp. 51-52. The town of Bhāṭuṭṭapadra-nagara is identified with mod. Bhatund, the find-spot of the record.

[3] Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar, *IA*, 1912, Vol. XLI, pp. 202-203.

records that a plot of land belonging to Bali which could be traversed by one ploughshare in a single day was granted by Vayajaladeva for the worship of the goddess Bahughṛṇā.[1]

(13) *Kiradu inscription* (*iii*).—Incised in the Śiva temple at Kiradu, Jodhpur State. It belongs to the time of Kumārapāla and his feudatory, the Kiradu Paramāra Someśvara. It is dated in V.S. 1218 (A.D. 1161).[2]

(14) *Udayapur stone-inscription* (*i*).—Said to have been found 'inside the east entrance of the great temple of the town of Udayapur (Lat. 23°54′N., Long. 78°7′ E.) in the State of Gwalior. It contains 20 lines of incomplete writing, for in its present condition 'at the beginning of each line we miss from about 8 to 10 *akṣaras*.' The inscription records donations to the temple of the god Ūdaleśvara in the town of Udayapura by *Mahārājaputra* Vasantapāla. It was apparently dated in the first 8 lines, in the reign of Ku(mārapāla) of Aṇa(hilapāṭaka), 'the vanquisher of the lords of Śākambharī and Avanti,'[3] while the *Mahāmātya* Yaśodhava(la) was managing the affairs of the state.[4] and when the *Mahāsādhanika* Rājya(pāla) was governing at Udayapura. Of the date of the record which was contained in the beginning of the first line only ...*ṣa-sudi 15 Gurau* remains. As the endowments were made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse the editor has calculated that the lost portion must have been (V.) *Saṁvat* 1220 *var*... (A.D.) 1163.[5]

(15) *Jalor stone-inscription.*—Incised on a lintel in the second storey of an old mosque now used as a *tōpkhānā* at Jalor, in Jodhpur State. It records the construction of a Jain *vihāra* containing an image of Pārśvanātha on the fort of Kāñcanagiri, belonging to Jābālipura (mod. Jalor) in V.S. 1221, by the *Gūrjara-dharādhīśvara-Paramārhata-Caullakya-M.*-Kumārapāla

[1] *ASI*, wc, 1907-08, pp. 54-55.
[2] *EI*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 47, No. 312.
[3] This is the interpretation of Kielhorn; but to me it seems that *Avantinātha* was a [illegible] of the king; see above, inscription No. 3 of Jayasiṁha.
[4] (*Sama*)*sta-mudrā-vyāpārān-paripanthayat-ity-eta*...... See above inscription No. 6.
[5] Edited by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 341-43.

being requested by *Prabhu* Hema Sūri. The temple was known as Kuvara (Kumāra) *vihāra*.[1]

(16) *Udayapur stone pillar-inscription (ii)*.—Said to be incised on a pillar; in the south of the east entrance of the same temple as No. 14. It contains only 5 lines. It opens with the date (V.) *Saṁvat* 1222 (A.D. 1166), and records that the *Ṭha(kkura)* Cāhaḍa [2] gave half the village of Saṁgavaṭṭā in the Bhṛṁgārī-catuḥṣaṣṭi (group of 64 villages called Bhṛṁgārī), probably to the temple where the epigraph was found at Udayapura.[3]

(17) *Veraval praśasti of Bhāva-Bṛhaspati*.—Contains 54 lines, incised on a stone slab fixed in the porch of the temple of Bhadrakālī at Veraval (Somnath) in S. Kathiawar. The record opens with *Oṁ namaḥ Śivāya* and invocations to Bhavānīpati (Śiva), Gaṇeśa, and Soma (Moon). It then gives an account of the birth and career of Bhāva-Bṛhaspati. He was born in the city of Vāṇārasī in the Kānyakubja-*Viṣaya* in a Brāhman family, and took the vow of the Pāśupatas. When he reached Dhārā and Avanti in the Mālava country he was highly honoured, and the Paramāra lords became his pupils. Next he bound to himself Jayasiṁha in a close bond of brotherhood. After his death, when Kumārapāla, 'who was a lion to jump on the heads of (those) elephants-Ballāla, king of Dhārā and the illustrious ruler of Jāṅgala,' 'quickly mounted the throne of his kingdom,' the *Gaṇḍa*[4] Bhāva[5]-Bṛhaspati, 'seeing the temple of the Foe of Cupid (Somanath) ruined,' exhorted him 'to restore the house of the god.' We are told that the temple of Somnath was first

[1] Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar. *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 54-55. The record really belongs to the Naḍḍula (Cāhamāna) Samarasiṁha, who effected some repairs to the temple in V.S. 1242. Note the form *Caullakya*; see above *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 943, fn. 1.

[2] Kielhorn has suggested that this Cāhaḍa may be identical with Kumārapāla's general of the same name mentioned by the *Dvyāśraya*; see *IA*, Vol. IV, p. 267; Vol. XVIII, p. 343, fn. 22.

[3] Edited by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 343-44.

[4] Temple priest; see *WZKM*, Vol. III, p. 2 and fn. 1.

[5] A common honorific title of religious teachers; *ibid*, fn. 1.

erected in stone by Bhīma I.[1] Kumārapāla agreed, made Bṛhaspati the lord of all the *gaṇḍas*, and appointed him governor of Somanātha-pattana. When the temple of Somnath was finally rebuilt the king made his office of chief temple-priest hereditary and granted him the village of Brahmapurī, near Maṇḍalī.[2] When Bhoja, the son of the king's sister Premalladevī, worshipped Somanātha under the guidance of Bṛhaspati, Kumārapāla, characterised as *Māheśvara-nṛpāgraṇīḥ* gave another village to the priest. The record was written by Rudra Sūri, and is dated in the last line in Valabhī *Saṁvat* 850 (A.D. 1169).[3]

(18) *Junagarh stone-inscription.*—Incised on a piece of hard black stone and found in a Śaiva temple at Junagarh. It contains 34 lines of very much damaged writing. It opens with an invocation to Śiva, and then gives the genealogy of the Caulukyas of Aṇahilapāṭaka from Mūlarāja, followed by the names of Bhīma, Karṇa, Jayasiṁha and Kumārapāla. It seems to record the building of a Śaiva temple by the last prince of Ānandanagara[4] and his minister Dhavala. The date is Valabhi-*Saṁvat* 850 and Siṁha-*Saṁvat* 60 (A.D. 1169).[5]

(19) *Nadlai stone-inscription.*—Found near the temple of Mahādeva, about one mile SW. of Nadlai.[6] It contains 3 lines and records the construction of the *maṇḍapa*, etc., of the temple of Bhivaḍeśvara by one Pāhiṇi at the cost of 330 *drammas*, in V.S. 1228 (*c.* 1171 A.D.), during the victorious reign of

[1] Must have been damaged during the invasion of Maḥmūd in the reign of this prince. See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 958 ff.

[2] Mod. Brahmapur, near mod. Mandal, in the Viramgam Taluka of the Ahmedabad Collectorate.

[3] Col. Tod first noticed this record (*Travels in Western India*, p. 504). Then Forbes published an abstract in *JBRAS*, Vol. VIII, pp. 59 ff. Finally edited by V. G. Ozha with an introduction by Bühler in *WZKM*, Vol. III, pp. 1-19; see also *BI*, pp. 186-98.

[4] Mod. Vadnagar.

[5] *BI*, pp. 184-85. Kielhorn seemed to doubt the reading of the dates, see *EI*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 189, No. 1381, and p. 200, No. 1463.

[6] Nadlai is situated 8 miles to the NW. of Desuri, the principal town of the district of the same name, Godwar division, Jodhpur State; *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 34.

Kuṁvara(Kumāra)pāla, while Kelhana was ruling in Nāḍūla and the *Rāṇā* Lakhamāṇa at Voripadyaka.[1]

These inscriptions cover a period of about 26 years, *c.* 1145 to 1171. According to the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* Kumārapāla reigned for 31 years from V.S. 1199 to 1230.[2] The *Therāvalī*, gives the reign-period as 1199 to 1229 V.S.[3] The *Mirāti-Ahmadī*[4] assigns him a reign of 30 years and 6 months, while the *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī* gives him only 23 years.[5] As the Bali stone-inscription of his predecessor is dated in V.S. 1200 and the Udaipur stone-inscription of his successor is dated in V. S. 1229 Kumārapāla's reign must fall between these two limits. As Merutuṅga tells us that Kumārapāla ascended the throne when he was fifty years old, it would seem at first sight that the tradition recorded by Abu'l-Faẓl of a shorter reign of 23 years is the more correct. But the Nadlai stone-inscription of V.S. 1228 shows that the *Therāvalī* represent the true tradition regarding the lower limit of the reign.

According to the Gujarat chronicles Kumārapāla, like his predecessors, was also a great warrior. The most elaborate description of his *digvijaya* is found in the *Kumārapāla-carita* of Jayasiṁha Sūri. The whole of the fourth *Sarga* of this work is devoted to the king's victorious campaigns. We are told that he first reached Jāvālapura[6] (mod. Jalor). After being entertained by its *nāyaka*, he proceeded to attack the Sapādalakṣa country. Arṇorāja, the king of this place who was also his brother-in-law, worshipped him; then he proceeded to the Kuru-*maṇḍala* and halted on the banks of the Mandākinī (Ganges). Then the Gurjara king marched against Mālava. On the way the lord of Citrakūṭa 'showed his gratitude to him.' After reaching Avanti-deśa he captured its ruler. He then

[1] Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar, *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 47-48.
[2] *PC*, p. 151.
[3] *JBRAS*, Vol. IX, p. 155; see also p. 157.
[4] *MA*, Trans., p. 143.
[5] *AAK*, Vol. II, p. 260.
[6] Sometimes spelt 'Jābālipura,' see *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 982.

followed the banks of the Narmadā, and rested for some time in the Revā-*tīra*. Next he crossed the river, and entering Ābhīra-*viṣaya*, compelled the lord of Prakāśa-nagarī to become his servant. Further south his advance was obstructed by the Vindhyas, and after exacting tribute from the petty village chiefs in that area he appears to have turned west and subdued the lord of Lāṭa. Proceeding northwards from Lāṭa he turned towards the west, and defeated the chief of the Surāṣṭra-*viṣaya*. From Surāṣṭra he entered Kaccha, defeated its chief, and went on to fight with the *Pañcanadādhipa*, who is described as *nausādhana-samuddhata*. After defeating him he proceeded to fight against Mūlarāja the lord of Mūlasthāna (mod. Multan). After a terrific contest. Mūlarāja was vanquished, and the Caulukya king returned victorious from the Śaka country, by way of Jālandhara and Marusthāna. After describing his triumphant tour of victory, Jayasiṁha thus indicates the limits of Kumārapāla's *digvijaya*.[1]

Ā Gaṁgam Aindrīm ā-Vindhyaṁ Yāmyām ā-Sindhu-paścimām,
Ā-Turuṣkaṁ ca Kauberīm Caulukyaḥ Sādhayiṣyati.

[Up to the Ganges on the east, Vindhyas on the south, Sindh, on the west and up to the Turuṣka (land) on the north did the Caulukya (king) conquer.[2]]

Further on Jayasiṁha gives a detailed account of Kumārapāla's war with Arṇorāja, the lord of Śākambharī. According to him, the war was caused by Arṇorāja having insulted Devalladevī, the sister of Kumārapāla. She is said to have left the Cāhamāna kingdom and complained to her brother. Kumārapāla thereupon invaded the Cāhamāna territories and defeated

[1] *IV*, 117; the *Kumārapāla-prabandha* also gives the same limits of his sway. See *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 189, fn. 1.

[2] The *Sukṛta-kīrti-kallolinī* of Udayaprabha contains the following verse on Kumārapāla's conquest:

Agre Hammīra-vīrai ciram ajira-mahī-pādapaḥ pāda-padma-
Krīḍā-bhṛṅgaḥ Kaliṅgaḥ sadanavad anago Medapāṭaḥ kapāṭaḥ,
Andhraḥ Karṇāṭa-Lāṭau Kuru-Maru-Muralā-Vaṅga-Gauḍāṅga-Cauḍāḥ,
Krīḍā-stambhāḥ sabhāyām iti nṛpati-kulair ābhātair [illegible]

GOS, No. X, Appendix II, pp. 76 ff., V. 60.

Arṇorāja, but in the end reinstated him on his throne.[1] The *Dvyāśraya* however says that the hostilities were first commenced by Ānna of Sapādalakṣa, who, 'supposing the government to be new and Kumārapāla to be weak quarrelled with him,' and invaded Gujarat. But Ānna was defeated and wounded in the fight, and bought peace by marrying his daughter Jalhaṇā to Kumārapāla.[2] Merutuṅga agrees with Hemacandra in stating that it was the king of Sapādalakṣa who first made the attack. According to him the Cāhamāna king was induced to attack the frontiers of Gujarata by Bāhaḍa, the son of the prime minister Udayanadeva and the adopted son of Siddharāja. Bāhaḍa, 'desiring to make war on Kumārapāla, having won over to his side all the officers in those parts with bribes, attentions and gifts, bringing with him the king of the Sapādalakṣa country, surrounded with a formidable army, arrived on the borders of Gujarāt.'[3] For a time the position of the Caulukya king was serious. A large section of the army, including Caūliṅga, the driver of the royal elephant, refused to follow him to battle. But in the end, thanks to Kumārapāla's personal bravery, the enemy forces were completely routed, Bāhaḍa was captured, while Ānna the Sapādalakṣa king was wounded with an iron dart. This victory over Arṇorāja is also mentioned by the *Vasanta-vilāsa*,[4] the *Vastupāla-Tejaḥpāla-praśasti*,[5] and the *Sukṛtakīrti-kallolinī*.[6]

There is ample epigraphic evidence to show that this literary tradition of war between Kumārapāla and Arṇorāja is based on fact. The Kiradu (V. S. 1209) and Ratanpur stone inscriptions show that the principality of the Naḍḍūla Cāhamānas was

[1] *IV*, 170 ff.

[2] *IA*, IV, pp. 267 ff.

[3] *PC*, p. 120.

[4] *GOS*, No. VII, iii, 29. The Cāhamāna king is referred to as 'King of Jāṅgala' in this work. Also in the Veraval inscription of Bhāva-Bṛhaspati; see *WZKM*, Vol. III pp. 1 ff.

[5] Appendix I, in *GOS*, No. X, pp. 58 ff., V. 25.

[6] *Ibid*, Appendix II, pp. 67 ff., V. 61.

included within his dominions. The inscription of Bhatund and a number of others[1] indicate that during the years V. S. 1210-16 one of his *Daṇḍa-nāyakas* was actually posted in the Naḍḍūla area. The Cāhamāna principality of Naḍḍūla served as a buffer-state between the kingdoms of Aṇahilapāṭaka and Śākambharī, and its inclusion within the Caulukya dominions must have been effected by successful war. This guess seems to be supported by one of Kumārapāla's Chitorgadh inscriptions (V. S. 1220) which actually states that he defeated the ruler of Śākambharī, and, after devastating the Sapādalakṣa country pitched his great camp at Śālipura, not far from modern Chitor in Udaipur State, Rajputana. There is however no evidence to show that the Cāhamāna ruler was completely crushed. The Vadnagar *praśasti* (V. S. 1208), which also refers to Kumārapāla's victory over Arṇorāja when read with the Chitorgadh inscription mentioned above indicates that the war on this frontier raged for at least 8 years. Kumārapāla's victory over the Jāṅgala king is also referred to in the Veraval inscription of Bhāva Bṛhaspati (A.D. 1169).[2]

The war with the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī seems to have involved Kumārapāla in two other struggles on his eastern frontier. The *Dvyāśraya* says that after his victory over Ānna he was advised to win fame by subduing Ballāla. The reason why his ministers counselled him to attack Ballāla is given by Hemacandra in another passage, where he writes that before Ānna advanced upon the frontiers of Gujarat he formed an alliance with Ballāla, the king of Avanti, and it was arranged that both the powers should simultaneously attack the Caulukya kingdom from the north and the east.[3] After the Caulukya king had returned to Pattana, "News was brought to Kumārapāla that Vijaya and Kṛṣṇa, the two

[1] See above, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 980 ff.

[2] The *PC* (p. 141) seems to give Vigraharāja, *alias* Viśvala, the king of Sapādalakṣa as also contemporary with Kumārapāla.

[3] *IA*, Vol. IV, p. 268.

Sāmantas whom he had sent to oppose Ballāla, when he himself advanced against Ānna, had gone over to the king of Ujjain, and that monarch was already in his territory and was advancing on Anahillapura. Kumārapāla, assembling his troops, went against Ballāla, who was defeated and struck from his elephant." [1] The *Vasantavilāsa* [2] also refers to Kumārapāla's victory over Ballāla while the *Kīrti-Kaumudī* informs us that the latter was beheaded by Kumārapāla.[3] The authenticity of this literary tradition seems to be borne out by epigraphic evidence. The stone pillar at Dohad, which contains an inscription dated in the reign of Jayasiṁha in V. S. 1196 (A.D. 1140) also contains a postscript dated in V. S. 1202 (A.D. 1145-46). But, significantly enough, it fails to mention the name of the sovereign lord of the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Vāpanadeva. We have already noticed the strategic importance of the Dohad region. It is not unlikely that sometime between 1140 and 1146 A.D. the Caulukyas lost their hold over this region. But there is no doubt that whatever reason may have induced the composer of the inscription to omit the name of Kumārapāla, the Caulukyas had recovered their hold on Mālava some time before 1163 A.D. The two Udayapur inscriptions of Kumārapāla dated in V. S. 1220 (A. D. 1163) and 1222 (A. D. 1166), which were discovered not far from Bhilsa, show that, like his predecessor he was again the lord of Mālava. The Veraval inscription of Bhāva-Bṛhaspati (A.D. 1169) refers to Kumārapāla's victory over Ballāla, the king of Dhārā, while the Vadnagar *praśasti* states that the Caulukya king charmed the goddess Caṇḍī, "when she was desirous of taking a toy-lotus with the lotus-head of the Mālava lord, that was suspended at his gate." [4] This last inscription indicates that Ballāla

[1] *Ibid.*
[2] *III*, 29.
[3] *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 185.
[4] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 302, V. 15. See also *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 886 ff.

was killed sometime before *c.* 1151 A.D.[1] *It is however difficult* to identify the Mālava king Ballāla. The genealogical lists in the published records of the Paramāras do not contain this name: as Lüders has suggested, he may have been a usurper who seized the throne of Mālava some time between 1135 to 1144 A.D.[2] and taking advantage of Kumārapāla's difficulties when he first ascended the throne of Aṇahilapāṭaka, declared his independence, and allied himself with the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī, and advanced against Gujarat to try conclusions with the traditional enemies of his country.[3]

The second war that was waged by Kumārapāla in connection with his struggle with the Cāhamāna Arṇorāja was against the Paramāra principality of Candrāvatī in Abu. The *Kumārapāla-carita* tells us that when he was fighting with Arṇorāja, Vikramasiṁha, the lord of Candrāvatī, rebelled against him. So after his victory against the northern ruler, he advanced towards Candrāvatī and after capturing the city imprisoned its ruler.[4] According to this authority, the throne of Candrāvatī was given to Vikramasiṁha's nephew Yaśodhavala.[5] The authenticity of this tradition is shown by the Mount Abu *praśasti* of Tejaḥpāla (V. S. 1287), which tells us that the Arbuda Paramāra Yaśodhavala "quickly killed Ballāla the lord of Mālava, when he had learnt that he had become hostile to the Caulukya king Kumārapāla."[6] From the wording of this

1 Lüders suggested on the authority of the Veraval inscription that Ballāla must have died before 1169 A.D.; *EI*, Vol. VIII, p. 201. But the Mālava lord in the Vadnagar inscription is certainly the Ballāla of the later record, and so we can shorten the period of his death by about 18 years.

2 *EI*, Vol. VII, pp. 201-02. The last date of Yaśovarman and the first date of Lakṣmivarman. *IA*, Vol. XIX, pp. 348-49; *ibid*, pp. 352 ff. Recently a suggestion has been made that Ballāla was a Hoysala ruler from Dorasamudra.

3 See inscription No. 14 above and fn. 8 on p. 982.

4 *IV*, 421-52. The *Dvyāśraya* (*IA*, Vol. IV, p. 267) says that Vikramasiṁha, the Paramāra ruler of Abu, entertained Kumārapāla when the latter reached his capital on his way to waging against Anna of Sapādalakṣa.

5 *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 185.

6 *EI*, Vol. VIII, p. 216, V. 35. See also *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 898 ff. and 914 ff.

Sāmanta to Someśvara. V. 27 seems to state that the last ruler had the *biruda Pratāpa-Laṅkeśvara*. V. 28 states that he gave the village of Rewna to the 'self-existent Pārśvanātha.' Vs. 29-30 apparently give the genealogy of the person who built a temple to house the deity. It is dated towards the end in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1226 (A.D. 1170).[1]

(2) *Dhod stone-inscription* (*i*).—Engraved on a pillar in the Rūṭhī Rānī temple at Dhod in Jahazpur, Mewar. It records that in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1228 (*c.* 1171 A.D.), during the reign of *Pb.-M.-P.* Someśvara, the *Karaṇika* Brāhman *Mahantama* Cāhaḍa, son of Vijai, sold his house to the temple of Nityapramoditadeva for 16 *drammas* (coins) of Ajayadeva.[2]

(3) *Dhod stone-inscription* (*ii*).—Found as No. 2 above. It records that in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1229 (*c.* 1172 A.D.), when *Pb.-M.-P.* Someśvara, was ruling at Ajayameru-*durga* in the county of Sapādalakṣa, *Bhaṭṭāraka* Prabhāsarāśi built a monastery near the temple of Nityapramoditadeva for the residence of Kāpālika ascetics from foreign countries.[3]

(4) *Rerasa stone-inscription*.—Incised on a pillar in the *Sabhā-maṇḍapa* of the temple of Jiṇ-Mātā, about 16 miles N. W. of Khatu, in the Sambhar Nizamat of Shekhawati, Jaipur State. It records that in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1230 (*c.* 1174 A.D.), in the reign of Someśvara, one Ālhṇa, son of Udaïrā, rebuilt the *maṇḍapa* of the temple.[4]

(5) *Anvaldā stone-inscription*.—Engraved on a *Satī*-pillar. It is dated in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1234 (*c.* 1177 A.D.) and records that during the reign of *M.* Someśvara the memorial stone was erected in honour of Sindarā(ja), son of Ḍoḍa Rā(o) Siṁgharā(ja).[5]

These five inscriptions noticed above range from V.S. 1226 to 1234, corresponding roughly to *c.* 1169-1177 A.D. As we have an inscription of his successor, dated in V.S. 1233 (A.D.

[1] Badly edited by Kaviraj Shyamal Das in *JASB*, 1886, Vol. XL, Part I, pp. 14-15, 28-32 and 40-46. The record ought to be re-edited. For the date, see *IA*, 1891, p. 133, No. 114 and fn. 21.

[2] Noticed in *RMR*, 1928, p. 2.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Noticed in *ASI, WC*, 1910, p. 52.

[5] Noticed in *RMR*, 1928, p. 2.

1180), Someśvara's reign must have ended sometime before that date. Besides these inscriptions, coins of billion or copper of the 'Bull and horseman type' of Someśvara are known.[1] The obverse bears the figure of a horseman with the legend *Śrī-Someśvara-deva*, and the reverse the figure of a humped bull and the legend *Āśāvarī śrī Sāma* (*ntadeva*). It seems from the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* that when Someśvara died his eldest son Pṛthvīrāja III was still a minor. 'So before leaving this world he had appointed the *Devī* or the queen (Karpūradevī) to protect his son in his childhood.'[2] The author of the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* gives eloquent description of the prosperity of the Cāhamāna kingdom during the Queen's regency. It appears that she was ably assisted in her administration by the minister Kādamba Vāsa.[3] On his reaching the age of discretion Pṛthvīrāja seems to have been assisted by another officer named Bhuvanaikamalla, who is reported to have come to the Cāhamāna court to find out how 'the son of his elder brother's daughter' was protecting this earth. While Kādamba Vāsa is compared with Hanumān, Bhuvanaikamalla is described as a veritable Garuḍa, who served Pṛthvīrāja and his brother Harirāja, the two incarnations of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. 'Just as Rāma, with the help of Garuḍa and Hunumān crossed the sea and did other things, so Pṛthvīrāja, with the help of Hanumān-like Kādamba Vāsa and Garuḍa-like Bhuvanaikamalla, did many things for the welfare of the people.'[4] The following records are so far known for the reign of this prince :

(1) *Lohari stone-inscription*.—Engraved on a *Satī*-pillar. It is dated in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1236 (*c*. 1180 A.D.), and records that during the reign of Pṛthvīrāja, the memorial was set up in honour of Jalasala, son of Vāgaḍī Salakhaṇa, by his mother Kālhī. It contains the names of 9 ladies who became *Satī* on this occasion.[5]

[1] *CCIM*, pp 257 and 261.
[2] *JRAS*, 1918, p. 277.
[3] Or Kadamba Vāma. See *JRAS*, 1913, p. 277 and fn. 1.
[4] *JRAS*, 1918, pp. 276-79
[5] Noticed in *RMR*, 1923, pp. 2-3; see also *ASI*, *WC*, 1906, p. 62, No. 2235; *IA*, Vol. 1?7, p. 49, fn. 15.

(2) *Madanpur stone-inscriptions.*—These are three in number, and were found in the large temple of Śiva at Madanpur, which is situated at the head of one of the principal passes leading from Saugor (C. P.) to Lalitpur, Jhansi and Gwalior. It is 24 miles to the S.E. of Dudahi, 35 miles to the S.S.E. of Lalitpur and 30 miles to the north of Saugor. Inscription No. (*i*) records the name of Pṛthvīrāja of the Cāhumāna-vaṁśa, who came to the country of king Paramardi. No. (*ii*) gives the genealogy of Pṛthvīrāja as grandson of Arṇorāja and son of Someśvara. We are then told, that in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1239 (*c.* 1182-83 A.D.) he conquered the country of Jejāka-bhukti. No. (*iii*) gives the names of Candraśekhara, Tryambaka and Tripurāntaka indicating that the temple where his inscription was placed was a Śaiva shrine.[1]

(3) *Udaipur stone-inscription.*—Engraved on a *Satī*-pillar; dated in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1244 (*c.* 1188 A.D.) in the reign of *M.* Pṛthvīrāja.[2]

(4) *Visalpur stone-inscription.*—It was found on a pillar in the temple of Gokarṇanātha at Visalpur near Rajmahal in the Jaipur State. The temple, as well as the town, is said to have been founded by Vīsaladeva (Vigraharāja IV). The record is dated in (V.) S. 1244 (*c.* 1187-88 A.D.), in the reign *Pb.-M.-P.* Pṛthvīrāja. The object is to register some donations to the temple of the god Gokarṇa at Vigrahapura,[3] in the *Sapādalakṣa* country.[4]

(5) *Bajta image-inscription.*—Found 'engraved on the pedestal of an image of Gaṇeśa, kept in a niche in a temple of Mīāṁ Mātā near Bajta,' in the Estate of Savar, Rajputana. It records that the image was made by one Rājala, son of *Mahāṁ* Rāṁvata, an officer of Pithimadeva (=Pṛthvīdeva= Pṛthvīrāja) in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1245 (*c.* 1189 A.D.).[5]

[1] *ASR*, Vol. XX, Plate XXXII, Nos. 9, 10 and 11; *ibid*, Vol. XXI, pp. 173-74, Nos 9-11

[2] Noticed in *ASI*, *WC*, 1906, p. 62, No. 2224. The stone is now in Victoria Museum, Udaipur (Mewar).

[3] Same as mod. Visalpur or Bisalpur.

[4] Noticed in *ASR*, Vol. VI, p. 156, Plate XXI. Also in *ASI*, *WC*, 1921, pp. 55-56.

[5] *RMR*, 1911-12, p. 2.

These inscriptions range from V. S. 1236 to 1245 corresponding to *c.* 1179 to 1189 A. D. Besides these records, silver and billion coins of the usual 'Bull and horseman' type, which were first imitated by his father, have also been discovered for his reign.[1] I have elsewhere[2] discussed the stories of Pṛthvīrāja's hostility with the Candrātreya Madanavarman and the Gāhaḍavāla Jayaccandra. The story of the *Svayaṁvara* of the latter's daughter Saṁyogitā and her abduction by Pṛthvīrāja as told by the *Pṛthvīrāja Rāso* of Cand Bardāi,[3] reads more like romance than history. The chronology of this Hindi Epic has been shown to be full of absurdities,[4] and undoubtedly in its present state it contains much unhistorical matter. Nevertheless there is good ground to believe that the facts narrated by him, though exaggerated, have an historical kernel. Thus the Madanpur inscriptions of Pṛthvīrāja really show that he was on hostile terms with the Candella monarch, and had invaded and plundered, if not annexed, a large portion of the Candella territory beyond the Betwa. Whether Pṛthvīrāja actually captured Mahoba and plundered Kalinjar, as Cand says, is more than can be admitted at present. But I have shown from the Candella records that there was friendship between the Gāhaḍavālas and the Candellas,[5] and the struggle which according to Cand was opened with the battle on the Pahuj may well have been a duel between these two allies on one hand and the Cāhamānas on the other. The *Vyāyoga Pārtha-parākrama* indirectly refers to hostilities between the Cahamāna Pṛthvīrāja and the Caulukya Bhīma II (*c.* 1178-1241

[1] *CCIM*, pp. 261-62

[2] See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. III, pp 719 ff., chapter on the *Candrātreyas*; also *ibid*, Vol I, p. 541.

[3] The Benares edition (1913) of this work, brought out by Mohanlal Vishanlal Pandia and Sham Sundar Dass, is useful but a more critical edition, with historical and geographical notes and an index, would be very valuable for the history of this period

[4] See Kaviraj Syamal Das in *JASB*, 1887, Vol. LV, pp. 5-65; also Haldar in *JBRAS*, 1927, pp. 203-211.

[5] *Supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 541; *ibid*, Vol. II, pp. 711 and 720; also *TN*, Vol. I, p. 466, fn. 1.

A.D). We are told that the Ābu Paramāra Dhārāvarṣa, a feudatory of the lord of Anahillapāṭaka repulsed a nocturnal attack of the king of Jāṅgala.[1] The *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* mentions a victory of the Cāhamāna prince over one Nāgārjuna, who had besieged Guḍpur. Unfortunately neither the prince nor the locality mentioned can at present be identified. But it contains significant allusions to the rise of a 'beef-eating *mleccha* named Ghorī' in the North-West who had captured Garjani (Ghaznī).

The last of the Yamīnīs, Khusrau Malik Tāj ud-Daulah (1160-86 A.D.) whose dominion had so long separated the leader of this new horde of invaders from the Cāhamānas, had been removed. The Ghurī and the Cāhamāna now stood face to face. The Muslim knew that the wealth of the rich cities and temples in the Jumna-Ganges valley and beyond could only be secured by the destruction of this Hindu power which held the key of the Delhi gate. The Cāhamāna knew, and expected no quarter. The *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* tells us that hearing of the activities of the 'Mleccha Ghorī,' he vowed to exterminate the Mlecchas. The Muslim chief, we are told, hearing of this vow, sent an ambassador to Ajmer. This man "had a wide forehead but no hair on his head. The colour of his beard, eyebrows and the eyelashes was of the grapes that came from Ghazni, and his speech was like that of the wild birds; it had no cerebrals. His complexion was like that of a leper, and he wore a long *coga*. Rājās took shelter in fortress in fear of him. When these fiends in the shape of men took possession of Naḍūl (Nadol), the warriors of Pṛthvīrāja took up their bows and arrows and the emperor became angry and resolved to lay the Ghori's glory in the dust." But his *Pratīhāra* soon brought the welcome news that the king of Gujarat had utterly destroyed the 'Ghorī' forces.[2] This Muslim invasion is no doubt the same as that which was undertaken by Mui'zz ud-Dīn Ghūrī in A. H. 574 (A.D.

[1] *GOS*, No. IV, 1917, pp. ii and 3. For a traditional story of hostilities between the Cāhamānas and the Caulukya princes, see *Ras*, Vol. I, pp. 202 ff.

[2] *JRAS*, 1913, p. 279.

had also erected a temple in the same place to (Viṣṇu) Uddharaṇasvāmin. Madana, grandson of Yogarāja, and his mother Hirū granted two fields situated at the back of the Kālebāya lake and to the north of Citrakūṭa-*nagara-durga*, to the temples after having divided them into two equal parts. The *praśasti* was composed by Ratnaprabha Sūri. It is dated in (V.)S. 1330 (*c.* 1273 A.D.).[1]

(2) *Chitor stone-inscription* (*i*).—54 lines, incised on a large stone near the burning-ground in the neighbourhood of the *Kīrti-stambha* of Kumbha. It contains only the first portion of the inscription; the second is lost. The opening verses invoke (Śiva) Candracūḍa and Gaṇeśa. It then eulogises the *Guhila-vaṁśa* of Medapāṭa and its capital Nāgahrada. Next it traces the genealogy of the family from Bappa, who won Medapāṭa through the favour of Haritarāśi to Naravāhana. It was composed by Veda Śarman. Its date (V.)S. 1331 (*c.* 1274 A.D.), shows that it must belong to the reign of Samarasiṁha.[2]

(3) *Chitor stone-inscription* (*ii*) —Engraved on a lintel belonging to a Jaina temple in the fort of Chitor. It records the construction of a temple of Śyāma-Pārśvanātha by Jayatalladevī, queen of Tejasiṁha. It is dated in (V.) S. 1335 (*c.* 1278 A.D.), in the reign of *Mahārājakula* Samarasiṁhadeva, the ornament of the Guhila family, and records a grant of land by him for the construction of a monastery for Pradyumma Sūri.[3]

(4) *Abu stone-inscription*.—In a monastery adjoining a temple of Acaleśvara (Śiva) near Achalgarh on Mt. Abu. It contains 48 lines. The inscription was composed by the same as in No. 2 above. It is dated in the reign of Samarasiṁha or Samara of Medapāṭa in (V.) S. 1342 (*c.* 1285 A. D.), and records that he repaired a *maṭha* on Mt. Arbuda (Abu) at the

[1] Edited by Bernhard Geiger, *WZKM*, Vol. XXI, pp. 142-62.

[2] *BI*, pp. 74 ff. Cunningham published a photozincograph in *ASR*, Vol. XXIII, plate XXV. Then edited by Kielhorn, *IA*, XXII, pp. 80-81; see also *HR*, II, p. 479.

[3] Noticed in *RMR*, 1923, p. 8; previously noticed by Syamaldas in *JASB*, Vol. LV, Part I, pp. 18 and 48.

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request of the Pāśupata ascetic Bhāvaśaṅkara. Its main value is that it supplies the genealogy of the family from Bappa, who first gained royalty through the favour of Hāritarāśi, practising penance at the town of Nāgahrada. [1]

(5) *Chitor stone-inscription (iii)*.—Engraved on a pillar about a mile or so from Chitor. It is dated in (V.) S. 1344 (*c.* 1287 A.D.) in the reign of *Mahārājakula* Samarasiṁha, and records some grants to the temple of Vaidyanātha built on a tank called Citrāṅga (mod. Chitrang Moris tank) at Citrakūṭa.[2]

(6) *Dariba stone-inscription*.—Engraved on a pillar of the temple of *Mātāji* at Dariba, about 10 miles from Sunwar station of the Udaipur-Chitor Railway. It is dated in (V.) S. 1356 (*c.* 1299 A.D.), in the reign of *Mahārājakula* Samarasiṁhadeva, when his chief minister was Nimbā. It records the gift of 16 *drammas* to the temple by two persons named Karanā and Sohadā.[3]

(7) *Chitor stone-inscription (iv)*.—Incised on a loose stone slab on a platform built round a tree in front of the Rampol gate at Chitor. It is dated in (V.) S. 1358 (*c.* 1301), in the reign of *M.*-Samarasiṁhadeva. It is damaged, but seems to register the erection of a *praśasti* in the neighbourhood of the 'terrace' of Bhojasvāmi (*Bhojasvāmideva-jagati*) by *Rāja* Dhārasiṁha, the son of *Mahārāvat Rājā* Pātā of the Pratīhāra family. [4]

(8) *Chitor stone-inscription (v)*.—Found incised on the 9th arch of the bridge over the Gambhiri near the fort of

[1] First noticed in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVI, pp. 284 ff.: see Wilson's translations, *ibid*, pp. 292-98. Syamaldas edited the record in 1886 in *JASB*, Vol. LV, Part I, pp. 32ff., 48ff., and 57ff. Finally edited by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XVI, pp. 345-58.

[2] First noticed by Syamaldas in *JASB*, Vol. LV, Part I, pp. 1891; also in *RMR*, 1923, p. 3; see also *ASI*, *WC*, 1906, p. 62, No. 2232.

[3] Noticed in *RMR*, 1927, p. 3.

[4] Noticed in *RMR*, 1921, p. 1. The report identified 'Bhoja' in the compound *Bhojasvāmin* as the Paramāra ruler of that name. Dr. Barnett suggests that *jagati* is an architectural term, something like 'terrace.' Bhandarkar however translates the word *jagati* by 'grounds,' see *EI*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 92.

Chitor. It seems to record the grant of some land by Samarasiṁha for the good of his mother Jayatalladevī. The portion containing the date is hidden and the record is much damaged.[1]

The above inscriptions give dates for Samarasiṁha from V. S. 1330 to 1358, corresponding to *c*. 1273-1301 A. D. Not much is known about this long reign of about 30 years. The Abu inscription dated in V. S. 1342 (*c*. 1285 A.D.) seems however to contain some information of his conflict with the Muslims. We are told that "like unto the primeval boar, having the sword for his flashing tusk, he in a moment lifted the deeply sunk Gurjara land out of the Turuṣka sea." As Ghiyāth ud-Dīn Balban (1266-87 A.D.) was at the time of the record the Sulṭān of Delhi, this may refer to a conflict with him. Jinaprabha in his *Tīrtha-kalpa* tells us that when Ulugh Khān, the younger brother of 'Alā ud-Dīn, proceeded on his expedition against Gujarat in V. S. 1386 (*c*. 1299 A.D.), Samarasiṁha, the ruler of Citrakūṭa saved his country from devastation by doing homage to him.[2] Though this is not mentioned in the Muslim chronicles, Ojha rightly points out that as the Jain author was a contemporary, his statement is reliable.[3] It was shortly after this incident that we find 'Alā ul-Mulk, the *Koṭwāl* of Delhi, urging the conquest of Chitor amongst other places upon 'Alā ud-Dīn Khaljī (1296-1316 A. D.).[4] The contemporary writer Amīr Khusrau in his *Ta'rīkh-i 'Alāi*[5] gives the following short description of the Sulṭān's campaign against Chitor.

"On Monday, the 8th Jumāda-s Sānī, A.H. 702 (1303 A.D.) the loud drums proclaimed the royal march from Delhi, under-

[1] Noticed by Syamaldas, *JASB*, Vol. LV, Part I, pp. 18 and 47.

[2] *Satyapura-kalpa* in *Tīrtha-kalpa*, p. 95, quoted in *HR*, II, p. 477, fn. 2.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] See *Tārīkh-i-Firus Shāhī*, extracts Trans. in *Elliot*, Vol. III, p. 171.

[5] Also known as *Khazāinul Futūh*. *Elliot*, Vol. III, pp. 67 ff.; for a better translation see *Journal of Indian History*, 1929, pp. 369-73. Text edited by S. M. Haq, Aligarh, 1927.

taken with a view to the capture of Chitor." The author accompanied the expedition. The fort was taken on Monday, the 11th of Muharram A. H. 703 (August 1303 A.D.) Amīr Khusrau says:—"The Rāī struck with the lightning of the emperor's wrath and burnt from hand to foot, sprang out of the stone gate; he threw himself into the water and flew towards the imperial pavilion, thus protecting himself from the lightning of the sword. The Hindus say that lightning falls where ever there is a brazen vessel, and the face of the Rāī had become yellow as one, through the effects of fear....Though the Rāī was a rebel royal mercy was conferred upon him."[1] Ratnasiṁha apparently surrendered when he found the position to be untenable. After his departure Lakṣmaṇasiṁha (als. called the Lakṣmasiṁha) of the collateral Sesodiā branch and after his death his son Arisiṁha were raised to the throne of Mewar and the Guhilas under their leadership continued to resist the Muslims with the courage of despair. This must have made the emperor crimson with rage and when the citadel was at last stormed he ordered a massacre of thirty thousand Hindus in a single day. 'Alā ud-Dīn then bestowed the government of Chitor upon his son, Khiẓr Khān, and named the place Khiẓrābād.[2] Barani[3] and Fīrishta[4] also refer to the capture of Chitor by 'Alā ud-Dīn after a siege lasting for some time. Abu'l-Faẓl in his *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī* gives the name of the prince of Chitor as Rāwal Rattan, and narrates the well-known story of the causes of the war between Chitor and Delhi.[5] It is doubtful how far the beauty of Padminī was really responsible for the Muslim attack on Chitor. If there is any truth in the story, which is

1 For a tradition of the capture of the *Rāṇā*, his imprisonment in Delhi for two years and his rescue from Delhi by his followers, see *CHI*, Vol. III, pp. 108 and 111.

2 Text, pp. 67-68; *Elliot*, Vol. III, pp. 76-77. S. Dutta pointed out (*IHQ*, 1931, p. 292, fn. 2) that Elliot's translation of the relevant parts is wrong. I have compared the text with the translation and have found that Dutta is right. For a better English rendering of the text see *Journal of Indian History*, 1929, pp. 369-73.

3 *Elliot*, pp. 189-89.

4 *TF*, Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, p. 466.

5 *AAK*, Vol. II, pp. 269-70.

not directly mentioned by any contemporary writers,[1] it may have been used only as a pretext to crush the rising power of the Guhilas.

Only one inscription of Ratnasiṁha, the son of Samarasiṁha has as yet been found. This is his *Dariba temple-inscription* dated in (V.) S. 1359 (*c.* 1302 A.D.). It is engraved on a pillar in the temple of *Mātāji* at Dariba and records the gift of 16 *drammas* to the temple when the *Mahārājakula* Ratnasiṁha was ruling over Medapāṭa and while his chief minister was Mahaṇasīha.[2] The possession of Chitor by 'Alā ud-Dīn Khaljī is proved by two inscriptions in that city dated in A. H. 705 (1306 A. D.) and 709 (*c.* 1310 A.D.) in his reign.[3]

(2) *Guhila-putras of Chatsu.*

The existence of this branch of the Guhilas is mainly known from the Chatsu stone-inscription of Bālāditya,[4] which was discovered about 26 miles south of the City of Jaipur in Rajputana. Another record of one of the earlier members of the family, was found at Dabok, in the Jahazpur district of Udaipur. It has therefore been concluded that the principality of this line probably extended from Dabok in Udaipur in the south to Chatsu in Jaipur on the north. Bhandarkar suggested that their capital was probably at Dhavagarta, modern Dhod in Jahazpur district. But he himself quotes a tradition which may indicate that it was further north, at Chatsu.[5] The tank where the

[1] Ojha (*Udayapur Rājya kā Itihāsa*) and, following him Haldar (*IA*, 1929 and 1930) and Qanungo (*Prabāsī*, Phālgun, 1337 B. S.) hold the view that the Padminī episode is not directly or indirectly mentioned by any contemporary or reliable piece of evidence. But see *IHQ*, Vol. VII, 1931, pp. 287ff., where Dutta tries to demonstrate that Amīr Khusrau indirectly refers to the Padminī episode in his *Ta'rīkh-i-'Alāī* and that the Kumbhalgadh inscription (V. S. 1517 = Śaka S. 1382 = A.D. 1460) also hints at it.

[2] Noticed in *RMR*, 1927, p. 3.

[3] Noticed in *ibid*, 1922, p. 2. For the subsequent history of the Guhilas see *HR*, pp. 496 ff.

[4] *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 10-17.

[5] *Rāṇā choḍe Cāṭsū, jo cāy so le* ('The *Rāṇā* has forsaken Cāṭsū; whoever wants it may take it').

inscription was found is even now known as *Gholerāv-talāv*, or the tank of the Guhila-rāja.

The founder of this line was Bhartṛpaṭṭa, who is stated in the Chatsu inscription to have flourished in the Guhila family. He is also said to have been like Rāma (*i. e.*, Paraśu-Rāma) endowed with priestly and martial qualities. I have already commented upon the true meaning of this statement. The *praśastikāra* apparently wanted to say that though Bhartṛpaṭṭa[1] was a Brāhman, he adopted the life and profession of a Kṣatriya. I have approximately calculated his date as *c.* 625 A.D., and have ventured to guess that he was an earlier immigrant from the principality established by the Brāhman Guhila of Ānandapura. Nothing is definitely known about his next three successors,[1] his son Īśāṇabhaṭa, his grandson Upendrabhaṭa, and his great-grandson Guhila I. Guhila's son was Dhaṇika, who, as I have elsewhere said, is probably identical with Dhaṇika of the *Dabok stone-inscription* dated in Gupta *Saṁvat* 407[2] (*c.* 725 A.D.). The inscription is dated in the victorious reign of the *Pb.-M.-P.*-Dhavalappadeva, who has with some probability been identified with the Maurya prince Dhavala of the Kansuvam inscription dated in V. S. 795 (A.D. 738). Ojha however demurs to this identification, and regards the question of the family of Dhavalappa as still open.[3] Nothing is known about the next two successors of Dhaṇika, *viz.*, his son Āuka and grandson Kṛṣṇarāja. Kṛṣṇa's son Śaṅkaragaṇa is stated to have conquered *Bhaṭa*, the *Gauḍa-kṣitipati*, and made a present of the latter's kingdom

[1] Ojha would identify him with the 11th prince of the same name in the Medapāṭa line; see *HR*, II, pp. 420 ff. I have tried to show that this is improbable; see *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 1167. fn. 3.

[2] *ASI, WC*, 1906, p. 61. The date was read by Bhandarkar as 807. He changed it to 407 in *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 11-12. But Ojha has proposed to read the date as 207, which he refers to the Harṣa era (V. S. 870 = A.D. 813); see *HR*, II, pp. 421, fn. 1; see also *DHNI*, Vol. II, *ante*, p. 1155, fn. 3.

[3] *HR*, II, p. 421, fn. 1.

to his overlord (*prabhu*). Śaṅkaragaṇa's son by his queen Yajjā, Harṣarāja, succeeded him. This prince is called a *dvija*, which, as Bhandarkar points out, usually denotes a Brāhman in the inscriptions of the period. He is also stated to have conquered kings in the north and presented horses to Bhoja. This Bhoja has been identified with the Pratīhāra emperor of Kanauj of that name who ruled about 836-90 A.D. ; if so, the *prabhu* of Harṣarāja's father was possibly Nāgabhaṭa II (*c.* 815-33 A.D.), the grandfather of Bhoja, or his son Rāmabhadra. But who could be the Gauḍa king who was defeated by Śaṅkaragaṇa? Bhandarkar's suggestion that *Bhaṭa* may be the Pāla ruler Śūrapāla seems to be wrong. I am inclined to regard *Bhaṭa* rather as a *biruda* or an epithet of Dharmapāla (*c.* 769-815 A.D.), who was a contemporary and rival of Nāgabhaṭa II,[1] the predecessor of Bhojā I.

Harṣarāja was succeeded by Guhila II, his son by the queen Sillā. Guhila married Rajjhā, a daughter of the Paramāra Vallabharāja (V. 24). I am unable to identify this prince. The Chatsu inscription tells us that Guhila II created the impression that he was Guhila I come to life again to destroy his foes (V. 22). We are further told (V. 23) that with excellent horses he vanquished the *Gauḍādhinātha* and levied tribute upon the princes of the east (*prācya*). I am inclined to identify this lord of Gauḍa with Devapāla (*c.* 815-54). If this is accepted, we must conclude that the expedition of Guhila II was undertaken in the interest of his overlord, who was still probably Bhoja I (*c.* 836-90 A.D.). It seems likely that the small silver coins bearing the legend *Śrī-Guhila* or *Guhila-Śrī* which were dug up in Agra in 1869[2] really belonged to this prince.

Guhila II's son was Bhaṭṭa. He is stated to have led an expedition of conquest against the kings of the south (V. 26).

[1] See *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 287.
[2] *ASR*, Vol. IV, p. 95; see also *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 1168.

He married Purāśā, the daughter of one Vīruka, and had by her a son named Bālāditya, also known as a Bālārka and Bālabhānu, who succeeded him. The *Chatsu stone-inscription* emanates from this prince. It is incised on a slab of black stone built into the side wall of the steps leading down into a great tank, at the bottom of which it was originally found. The tank is situated at Chatsu, the principal town of a *tahsīl* of the same name in the Jaipur State, about 26 miles south of Jaipur. The record contains 27 lines of writing in the northern type of alphabet of about the 10th century A.D. It opens with *Oṁ namaḥ* and two verses addressed to the goddess Sarasvatī and Murāri (Viṣṇu). Next follows the genealogy of the *Guhila-vaṁśa*, from Bhartṛpaṭṭa to Bālāditya. This latter married Raṭṭavā, the daughter of the Cāhamāna king Śivarāja, and had by her three sons, Vallabharāja, Vigraharāja and Devarāja. The object of the inscription is to record the erection of a temple of Murāri (Viṣṇu), by Bālāditya, in memory of Raṭṭavā, who had died. The *praśasti* was composed by the *Karaṇika* Bhānu, a Vaiṣṇava, and engraved by the *Sūtradhāra* Bhāila.[1]

Nothing more is known about Bālāditya or any of his descendants. It may be that their principality was gradually swallowed up by the growing power of the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī.

(3) *Guhila-putras of Saurāṣṭra.*

The princes of the modern States of Bhavnagar, Palitana, Vala, and Lathi[2] in Kathiawad claim to be Rajputs of the Guhila tribe. The rulers of Bhavnagar trace their descent from Śālivāhana of Paithan. A descendant of this ruler, we are told, settled in Khera-gaḍh on the banks of the Luni in the Jodhpur State.

[1] Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar, *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 10-17.

[2] *IGI*, Vol. VIII, p. 93; Vol. XVI, p. 164; Vol. XIX, p. 360. The ruling family of Rajpipla, in Gujarat (Rewa Kantha) also claims Guhila descent, and is apparently connected with the princes of Bhavnagar, see *ibid*, Vol XXI, p. 80.

The last prince of Khera, Mohadāsa, was killed by Śiājī, grandson of the Rathoda ' Jayacandra ' of Kanauj. Sejakjī,[1] Mohadāsa's grandson, then migrated to Saurāṣṭra about 1250 V. S. with his followers, and entered the services of the Soraṭh king Mahīpāla, whose capital was at Junagarh. He obtained 12 villages around Śāpur, and from his progeny were descended the Guhilas of Kathiawar and the neighbourhood.[2] Recently Ojha has advanced the theory that Śālivāhana, the ancestor of Sejakjī, was really the prince of that name in the Medapāta branch of the Guhilas, who was the predecessor of Śaktikumāra (977 A. D.).[3] He is of opinion that the person who really migrated from Khera in Jodhpur was Sahajiga who is mentioned in the *Mangrol stone-inscription* of the Guhila *Ṭhakkura* Mūlaka. This record was found incised on a slab of black stone attached to the wall of a well in the town of Mangrol in Junagarh, in South Kathiawar. It contains 25 lines, opening with *Om namaḥ Śivāya* and invocation of Hara (Śiva). It then praises the Caulukya Kumārapāla (*c.* 1144-73 A. D.), the successor of Siddharāja (*c.* 1094-1144 A. D.). Next follows the following genealogy of a family of Guhilas :—

In the Guhila family

Sāhāra
|
Sahajiga
|
Mūlaka — Somarāja

We are next told that Somarāja set up an idol of the god Maheśvara and named it, after his father, Sahajigeśvara. Mūlaka granted one *Kā*(*rṣāpaṇa* ?) from the custom-house

[1] Sometimes called Sejaki. He is reported to have founded Sejakpur, while his son ' Gohel ' founded Rānpur in (V.) S. 1201 (*c.* 1144 A. D.). *Somnath and other Mediaeval Temples in Kāthiāwāḍ*, by H. Cousens, 1931, p. 5.

[2] *Bālabodha Itihāsa of Bhavanagar*, by Devaśaṅkar Vaikuṇṭhaji Bhaṭṭa, quoted in *HR*, II, p. 421, fn. 2.

[3] *HR*, Vol. II, pp. 420ff.

(*Śulka-maṇḍapikā*) of Maṅgalapura (mod. Mangrol) and other gifts for the service of the god. The record is dated in (V.) S. 1202 (*c.* 1145 A. D.) and Siṁha *Saṁvat* 32. The inscription was composed by the Pāśupata teacher Prasarvajña.[1]

This record shows that Mūlaka was a feudatory chief under the administration of Kumārapāla. Ojha has suggested that Sahajiga first migrated from the Luni valley and took service under Jayasiṁha Siddharāja, and having distinguished himself in his war against the chief of Soraṭh was appointed to a principality in that region.[2] Though there is at present nothing to support this guess, it is not beyond the range of probability. Sahajiga is described in the inscription as a commander of the Caulukya forces ; and it is possible that he was a contemporary of Jayasiṁha. His sons are described as capable of protecting Saurāṣṭra (*Saurāṣṭrarakṣā-kṣama*) and one of them, Mūlaka, is called *Surāṣṭra-nāyaka.*

No other record is at present known that throws any light upon the history of this branch.

(4) *Guhila-putras of Āsikā.*

The existence of a Guhila chief at Āsikā or Hansi, in the Hisar district of the Punjab, is known from the *Hansi stone-inscription* of the Śākambharī Cāhamāna Pṛthvīrāja II (*c.* 1167-69 A. D.).[3] This was found on the wall of a building at Hansi. It contains 22 lines of writing. The opening verse invokes Murāri (Viṣṇu). It then mentions Kilhaṇa, the maternal uncle of the Cāhamāna Pṛthvīrāja, who belonged to the Gūhilaüta clan. We are next told that as Hammīra had become a cause of anxiety to the world, the king put Kilhaṇa in charge of the fort of Āsikā. The object of the inscription is to record that Kilhaṇa

[1] *BI*, pp. 158-60; *ARB*, pp. 179-80 ; see also *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 977, inscription No. 1 of Kumārapāla.

[2] *HR*, II, p. 483 fn.

[3] *IA*, 1912, pp. 17-19.

erected a *pratolī* (gateway) and near it two *Koṣṭhakas* (granaries). The flag which Kilhaṇa set up on the *pratolī*, we are told, 'set Hammīra as it were at defiance.' The Guhila chief is stated to have burnt Pañcapura, which has been identified with 'Pachapattana' on the Sutlej. The inscription is dated (V.) S. 1224 (*c*. 1167 A. D.).[1]

It is clear from this inscription that the Guhila principality of Āsikā was established by the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī, specially to check the advance of the later Yamīnīs,[2] and must have been practically swept out of existence when the Turks under Mu'izz ud-Dīn Ghūrī captured Hansi after the second battle of Tarā'in in 588 A. H. (A. D. 1192).[3]

(5) *Guhila-putras of Naḍūlaḍāgikā.*

The existence of this small principality of the Guhilas is known from the *Nadlai stone-inscription*[4] of the Naddūla Cāhamāna Rājyapāla (*c*. 1132-45 A. D.). The inscription was found incised on a pillar in the temple of Neminātha at Nadlai. It contains 26 lines, and opens with salutation to Neminātha. It then gives the date, (V.) S. 1195 (*c*. 1138 A. D.), and refers itself to the reign of *Mahārājādhirāja* Rāyapāla over Naḍūlaḍāgikā (Nadlai in Godwar, Jodhpur State). We are then told that for the worship of Neminātha, the *Ṭhakkura* Rājadeva, son of *Rauta* (*i. e.*, *Rājaputra*) Uddharaṇa, of the Guhila family granted $\frac{1}{20}$th part of the income derived from the loads going on their way or coming to Naḍūlaḍāgikā. It ends with the sign-manual of the donor—*Svahasto'yam Rāu Rājadeva.*

Two other Nadlai stone-inscriptions[5] dated in V. S. 1200 and 1202, under the Naddūla Cāhamāna Rāyapāla, also record

[1] *IA*, 1912, p. 18. See *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Cāhamānas*, pp. 1078-79.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 1080.

[3] *Ibid*, pp. 1089 ff.

[4] *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 36-37; also *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Cāhamānas*, p. 1112.

[5] *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 41-43. See also *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Cāhamānas*, pp. 1113-14.

gifts by one *Rāuta* Rājadeva. In one of these he is described as the *Ṭhakkura* of Naḍūlaḍāgikā. There is therefore little doubt that this Rāyapāla is the same person who is described in the inscription dated in V. S. 1195 as the son of the Guhila Uddharaṇa.

Nothing is at present known about the subsequent history of this principality.

(6) *Guhila-putras of Sesodā.*

I have already recorded the statement of the *Ekaliṅga-māhātmya* that in the reign of the Medapāṭa Guhila Karṇa (*alias* Raṇasiṁha) the Guhilas became divided into two branches, the *Rāvals*, and the *Rāṇās*.[1] The former or the elder branch continued to enjoy sovereign power in Mewar. In the latter branch flourished Māhapa, Rāhapa, etc. Māhapa and Rāhapa were the two sons of Karṇa and held in succession the fief of Sesoda, which was assigned to them by their father. The descendants of Rāhapa came to be known as Sesodias from the name of their *jaigīr*, and ultimately revived the Guhila power in Chitor after it was crushed by the armies of 'Alā ud-Dīn Khaljī (1296-1316 A. D.). Ojha[2] gives the following list of Rāhapa's descendants mainly from the bardic chronicles:

1. *Rāṇā* Rāhapa
   |
2. Narapati
   |
3. Dinakarṇa
   | (Dinakara)
4. Jasakarṇa
   | (Jasakara)
5. Nāgapāla
   |
6. Pūrṇapāla (Purapāla)
   |
7. Pṛthvipāla (*Rāṇā* Prathama)
   |

[1] See *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 1179.

[2] *HR*, II, p. 522; also *Muhaṇota Naiṇsī kī khyāta*, Part I, Hindī Trans. by Rāmanārāyaṇa Dūgaḍa, Nāgarīpracāriṇī Sabhā, Kāśī, Saṁvat 1989, pp. 18-19, fn.

8. Bhuvanasiṁha (Bhuṇagsī)
|
9. Bhīmasiṁha
|
10. Jayasiṁha
|
11. *Mahārāṇā* Lakṣmaṇasiṁha (1303 A. D.) (Lakhamasī)[1]
|

Mahārāṇā Arisiṁha (Arasī or Arsī) — Ajayasiṁha
|
Mahārāṇā Hammīra (c. 1326-64 A. D.)

As mentioned above this line of chiefs seems to have always remained feudatory to the main line of Chitor. Lakṣmaṇasiṁha Lakṣmasiṁha and his son Arisiṁha took their share in the defence of Chitor against 'Alā ud-Dīn and were killed in 1303 A.D. The Kumbhalgadh inscription (V.S. 1517-A.D. 1460) of Kumbhakarṇa seems to indicate that Lakṣmaṇasiṁha after the surrender[2] of Ratnasiṁha to 'Alā ud-Dīn was raised to the throne of Mewar and so he and his son Arisiṁha both reigned for very brief periods before their deaths. Tradition records that Lakṣmaṇasiṁha died along with seven of his sons in trying to maintain the defence of Chitor (*EI*, Vol. XXI, p. 281, V. 180). It was his grandson (?) Hammīra who restored Guhila power in Mewar by capturing the fort of Chitor from Jesā or Jayasiṁha. Jesā was the son of the Jalor Cāhamāna Māladeva who was placed in charge of the fort by 'Alā ud-Dīn after the administration of Khiẓr Khān. According to Muhanoṭa Naiṇsī the Cāhamāna Māladeva ruled at Chitor for 7 years.[3] The capture of Chitor by Hammīra seems to have happened some time after the reign of Ghiyāth ud-Dīn Tughluq (*c.* 1320-25), for-whose reign we have a Persian inscription in Chitor.[4]

1 Sometimes called 'Lakṣmasiṁha.'

2 *Tasmin gate* has been rightly taken by S. Dutta to mean 'departure.' For this interpretation he depends on the contemporary authority of *Ta'rīkh-i-'Ālāi* of Amir Khusrau. See *IHQ*, 1931, p. 293, fn. 1. See also *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol II, p. 1196.

3 *HR*, II, pp. 502-03.

4 *Ibid*, p. 501 and fn. 2. See also *CHI*, Vol. III, p. 526; *AAK*, Vol. II, pp. 269-70. From the line of Lakṣmaṇasiṁha (Lakṣmasiṁha) the appellations *Sesodia* and *Mahārāṇā* came to be applied to the rulers of Mewar.

(7) *Guhila-putras of Dungarpur (Vāgaḍa).*

The ruling princes of the State of Dungarpur claim to be descended from the elder branch of the Guhila family now ruling in Mewar.[1] I have already quoted the story of Muhaṇota Naiṇsī which tells us that the Medapāṭa Guhila Sāmantasiṁha voluntarily abdicated his crown in favour of his younger brother Kumārasiṁha, and established his line in Vāgaḍa.[2] I have also mentioned elsewhere the circumstances that led to the expulsion of Sāmantasiṁha, by the Caulukyas of Anhilvada and recovery of the principality by his brother Kumārasiṁha through the assistance of the kings of Gujarat. Apparently Sāmantasiṁha, when driven out of Mewar, took refuge in Vāgaḍa, and his line continued to rule in that region ever afterwards. His *Solaj inscription* shows that in V. S. 1236 (*c.* 1179 A.D.) he was already established in his new kingdom. The present rulers of Dungarpur appear to be descended from him. It is likely that this branch of the Guhilas finally ousted the successors of the Banswara (Vāgaḍa) Paramāra Vijayarāja (1108-09 A.D.)[3]

GENEALOGICAL TABLES.

(Dates approximate.)

(1) *Guhila-putras of Medapāta*—

Guhadatta or Guhila (*c.* 650 A.D.)
Bhoja
Mahendra I
Nāga or Nāgāditya
Sila or Silāditya (646 A. D.)
Aparājita (661 A. D.)
Mahendra II

[1] *IGI*, Vol. XI, p. 860. The story that the family is descended from Mahup, son of Karṇa, appears to be wrong in view of the statement of the chronicle of Muhaṇota Naiṇsī which is generally reliable.

[2] See *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 1182 ff.

[3] See *ante*. *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Paramāras*, p. 924.

Kālabhoja *alias* Bappa? (739-53 A. D.)
Khommāṇa I (also called Khummāṇa)
Mattaṭa
Bhartṛpaṭṭa I
Siṁha
Khommāṇa II (also called Khummāṇa)
Mahāyaka
Khommāṇa III (also called Summāṇa and Khummāṇa)
Bhartṛpaṭṭa II
(942-43 A. D.)
| = *Mahālakṣmī* (Rāṣṭrakūṭa)
|
Allaṭa = *Hariyadevī* (Hūṇa princess)
(Ālu) | (951-53 A. D.)
|
Naravāhana (971 A. D.)
| = *Cāhamāna princess* (Daughter of Jejaya)
|
Sālivāhan (Probably the ancestor of the Junagarh branch)
|
Saktikumāra (A. D. 977)
|
Aṁbāprasāda | Sucivarman | Naravarman *alias* Nṛvarman | Anantavarman | Kīrtivarman (Yaśovarman)

Kīrtivarman (Yaśovarman)
| ?
Yogarāja
| ?
Vairaṭa (Probably a descendant of Allaṭa?)
|
Haṁsapāla
|
Vairisiṁha
|
Vijayasiṁha (A.D. 1108, 1116)
= Syāmaladevī
|
Alhaṇadevī

Children of Vijayasiṁha: Arisiṁha ? | Coḍa or Coḍasiṁha ? | Vikramasiṁha? (= Vikramakesari ; also known as Puñja?)

Vikramasiṁha
|
Raṇasiṁha (*alias* Karṇa)
| (A.D. 1168 ?)

Kṣemasiṁha — Māhapa — Rāhapa (Founder of the Serodia line)

Sāmantasiṁha
(c. 1171-79 A D.)
(Founder of the Dungarpur line)

Kumārasiṁha
Mathanasiṁha (also called Mahaṇasiṁha)
Padmasiṁha
|
Jaitrasiṁha (c. 1213-56 A.D.)
|
Tejasiṁha (c. 1260-67 A.D.)
|
Samarasiṁha (c. 1273-1301 A.D.)
|
Ratnasiṁha (c. 1302-03 A.D.)

(2) *Guhila-putras of Chatsu*—

Bhartṛpaṭṭa (c. 625 A.D.)
|
Īśānabhaṭa
|
Upendrabhaṭa
|
Guhila I
|
Dhanika (725 A.D. ?)
|
Auka
|
Kṛṣṇarāja
|
Saṅkaragaṇa = *Yajjā*
|
Harṣarāja = *Sillā*
|
Guhila II = *Rajjhā* (Paramāra princess)
|
Bhaṭṭa = *Purāśā*
|
Bālāditya (Bālārka or Bālabhānu)

(3) *Guhila-putras of Saurāṣṭra*—

Sāhāra
|
Sahajiga
|
Mūlaka (1145 A.D.) — Somarāja

(4) *Guhila-putras of Āśikā Hansi*—

Kilhaṇa (and his successors ?)
(1167 A.D.)

(5) *Guhila-putras of Naḍūlaḍāgikā*—

Uddharaṇa
|
Rājadeva (1138 A.D.)

(6) *Guhila-putras of Sesodā*—

Rāṇā Rāhapa (son of Raṇasiṁha *alias* Karṇa of the Medapāṭa line)
Narapati
Dinakarṇa
Jasakarṇa
Pūrṇapāla
Pṛthvīpāla
Bhuvanasiṁha
Bhīmasiṁha
Jayasiṁha
Mahārāṇā (also called Lakṣmasiṁha) Lakṣmaṇasiṁha (1303 A.D.)
|
Mahārāṇā Arisiṁha — Ajayasiṁha
|
?
Mahārāṇā Hammīra (*c.* 1326-64 A.D.)

(7) *Guhila-putras of Dungarpur* (*Vāgaḍa*)—

Line of Sāmantasiṁha (1171-79 A.D.) and his descendants.

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CHAPTER XIX

CONCLUSION

In the preceding pages I have endeavoured to give an account of the more important dynasties which ruled in Northern India during the period of transition that intervened between the decline of the Hindu power and the gradual conquest and consolidation of the country by the Muslims. The conquering zeal of the Arabs was checked by the impenetrable bulwark of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra empire, and languished in the sands of Sind. The Muslim conquest did not really begin till the decline of the Pratīhāra empire and the arrival of the Turk on the Indian frontier in the 10th century A. D. Before the Turks' conquest of Northern India was completed, new tribes began to pour through the gates of the Hindukush and challenged their authority. It was only an accident that the religion of some of the new comers happened to be Islam.

Analytical study of all the Hindu dynasties that ruled during the period under survey reveals no central theme in their political history. Kanauj was on the decline and its hegemony challenged on every side. I am rather sceptical about the stories of the later writers that they ever showed any genuine appreciation of the danger threatening their independence and religion sufficient to unite them in a common effort to check the advance of the enemy. They failed to produce a ruler like Candragupta Maurya, who could merge the various conflicting interests under one flag by the prowess of his sword and oppose the invader with the resources of an empire. Nor like the Greeks could they devise any machinery for acting in concert under a common leader against the invaders. For the greater part of this period we have to deal with separate units whose only political contact with

their neighbour was when they fought with each other or combined to destroy a hated and powerful rival. For practical purposes we may divide the period under survey into the following five heads :

(1) *The period c. 915 to 998 A.D.*

From the decline of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra empire to the accession of Maḥmūd of Ghazni.

(2) *The period c. 998 to 1030 A.D.*

Age of Sulṭān Maḥmūd.

(3) *The period c. 1030 to 1179 A.D.*

From the death of Maḥmūd to the accession of Cāhamāna Pṛthvīrāja III.

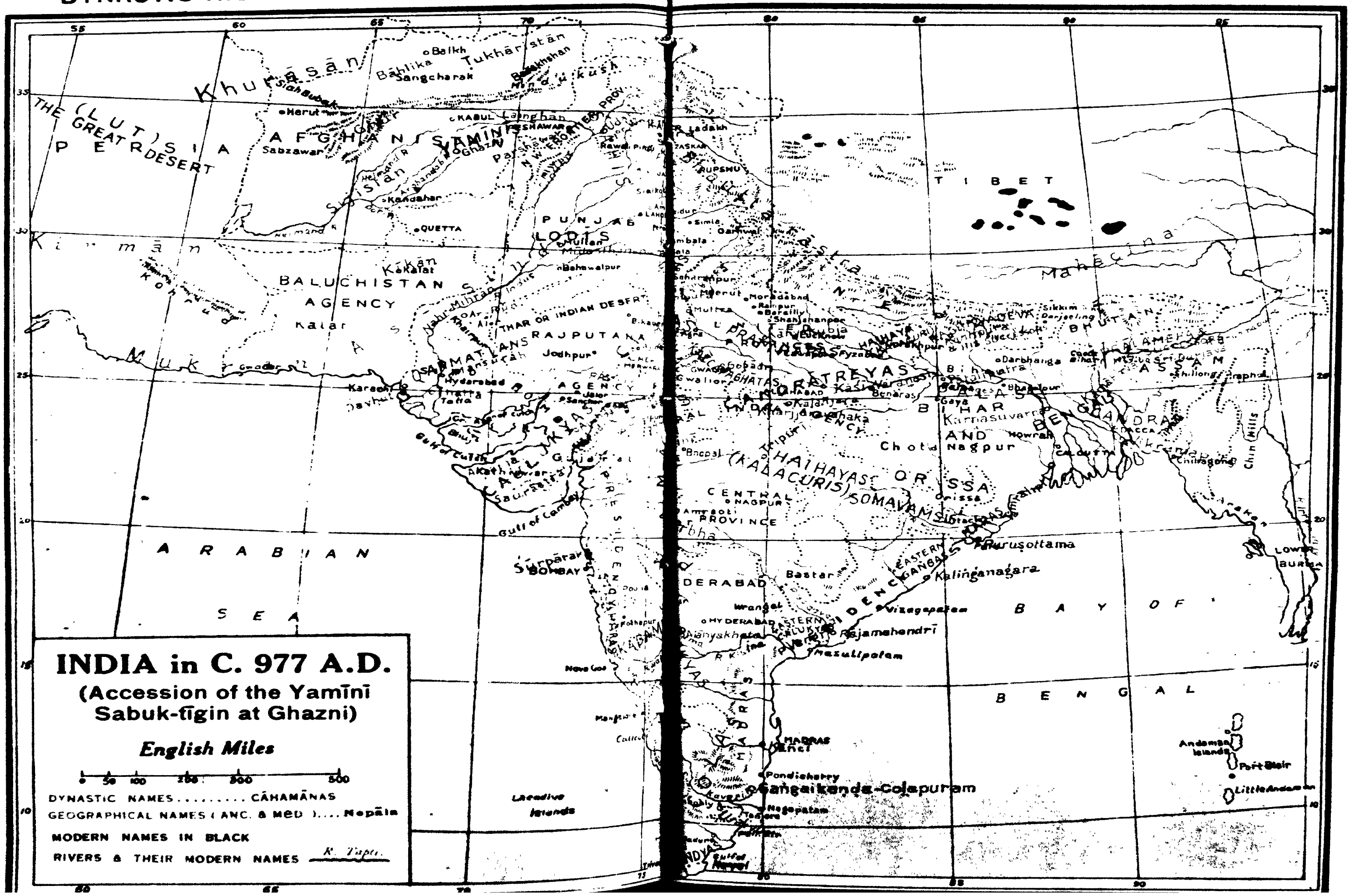
(4) *The period c. 1179 to 1200 A.D.*

Age of Pṛthvīrāja and the passing away of Hindu ascendency in the *Madhyadeśa*.

(5) *The period after 1200 A.D.*

Gradual penetration of Islamic power into the outlying parts of India.

During the first period (*c*. 915-98 A.D.) the power of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras of Kanauj steadily declined. The outlying provinces slowly broke away from the imperial structure and set up independent governments. The period of transition and political readjustment which had always intervened between the fall of one imperial power and the rise of another in India had already begun. Among the many tribes and princes struggling to capture the sceptre of the effete Pratīhāra princes we notice the two outstanding figures of the Paramāra Vākpati Muñja (*c*. 974-95 A.D.) and the Candella Dhaṅga (*c*. 954-1008 A.D.).


INDIA in C. 977 A.D.
(Accession of the Yamīnī Sabuk-tigin at Ghazni)
English Miles
0 50 100 200 300 500
DYNASTIC NAMES .... CĀHAMĀNAS
GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES (ANC. & MED.) .... Nepāla
MODERN NAMES IN BLACK
RIVERS & THEIR MODERN NAMES
Khurāsān
Tukhāristān
Bahlika
Sangcharak
oBalkh
THE GREAT (LUT) DESERT
PERSIA
AFGHANISTAN
YAMINI
Sabzawar
oHerut
oKABUL
PESHAWAR
Sīstān
Kandahar
QUETTA
Kirmān
BALUCHISTAN AGENCY
Kalat
PUNJAB
LODIS
Bahawalpur
THAR OR INDIAN DESERT
RAJPUTANA
Jodhpur
Hydarabad
Karachi
Tatta
Gulf of Cutch
Kathiawar
Gulf of Cambay
BOMBAY
ARABIAN SEA
Ladakh
RUPSHU
Simla
Moradabad
Meerut
Muttra
Bareilly
Shahjahanpur
Gorakhpur
Fyzabad
Benaras
Kasi
CANDRATREYAS
Gwalior
Bhopal
HAIHAYAS (KALACURIS)
CENTRAL PROVINCE
NAGPUR
SOMAVAMSIS
ORISSA
Bastar
DERABAD
Wrangal
Rajamahendri
Masulipatam
Vizagapatam
Kalinganagara
Purusottama
EASTERN GANGAS
BIHAR
Gaya
Bhagalpur
Karnasuvarna
Chota Nagpur
Howrah
Darbhanga
Sikkim
Darjeeling
BHUTAN
ASSAM
Shillong
Chittagong
Chin Hills
TIBET
Mahacina
LOWER BURMA
BAY OF BENGAL
Andaman Islands
Port Blair
Little Andaman
MADRAS
Pondicherry
Sangaikanda-Colapuram
Negapatam
Laccadive Islands
Gulf of Manaar

Both literary and epigraphic records are unanimous in testifying to the military ability of Muñja. Before his death he had unquestionably made himself the most important prince in Western India. But the promise of a brilliant and unifying force in the troubled history of India was destroyed when he met his tragic fate in one of his campaigns beyond the Godavari. There was however still some hope in the growing power of the Candellas, who were slowly building up a strong kingdom in the South-Central portion of Northern India. During his reign of nearly half a century Dhaṅga had gradually extended his authority over the whole tract lying to the south of Jumna and bounded roughly on the east and west by the Son and the Chambal. But before this power had time to spread itself in the North-West the Turks had established themselves on the Indian frontier. Alp-tigīn (*c.* 933-63 A.D.) founded his principality in Ghaznī in *c.* 993 A.D. ; and during his lifetime his general Sabuk-tigīn had already commenced his predatory incursions in the provinces of Lamghan and Multan. When the latter ascended to the throne in 977 A.D. the Turkish attack was developed on a more ambitious scale. The Śāhis of Afghanistan and the Punjab were brave and plucky fighters ; but they proved no match for the new enemy. In spite of the bold resistance of their kings and their allies they were gradually pushed out of Afghanistan, and by the year 997 A.D. when Sabuk-tigīn died, the Turks were masters of Lamghan and Peshawar.

With the accession of Mahmūd, the son of Sabuk-tigīn, in A.D. 998, the second period begins. The two outstanding personalities among the Indian princes are again supplied by the Paramāras and the Candellas. In the former dynasty flourished Bhoja (*c.* 1010-55 A. D.), who gradually won back the position which had been lost after the defeat and death of Muñja, while in the latter Vidyādhara ruled. Vidyādhara's grandfather Dhaṅga seems to have outlived Sabuk-tigīn and probably witnessed the practical downfall of the Śāhis in

1008 A.D. Vidyādhara ascended the Candella throne some time before 1019 A.D. At that date he had become so prominent as to be described by Muslim historians as the most powerful Indian prince of the time. There seems to be sufficient evidence to indicate that the Candellas made a bold bid to grasp the crown of Imperialism which had fallen from the heads of the unworthy successors of Mahendrapāla I. If fortune had been favourable, they might perhaps have once again combined a substantial portion of Northern India under their rule, and thus created some unity in the confused currents of its history during this period. But this was not to be. Unfortunately for them, they were confronted by one of the greatest military leaders that the Turks had ever produced. Under the able generalship of Maḥmūd the Turkish bands with their insatiable lust for plunder and destruction were organised into one of the most efficient engines of war. For more than thirty years they pillaged, burned and devastated the rich plains, cities and temples of the Indus and the Ganges valleys. Even the distant temple of Somnath had to yield up to them its hoarded treasures. The Paramāra Bhoja seems not to have come into serious conflict with the Muslims and the brunt of the attack fell upon the Śāhis and Candellas. The former were exterminated as a power in the Punjab, while the latter, though saved from complete destruction, found themselves unequal to the task of offering effective resistance to the vandalism of the Turk. Vidyādhara, in spite of his undoubted military ability, seems to have failed to achieve any practical results in the open field. Though Maḥmūd could not capture Kalinjar and failed to penetrate into the plains of Kashmir, and though most of his expeditions were for plunder and not for conquest, yet the Turkish power during his reign had gradually advanced into a permanent position in the Western Punjab and Northern Sind. Multan and Lahore became the two outposts of the Muslims in the valley of the Punjab rivers.

The period (*c.* 1030-79 A.D.) which followed the death

of Mahmūd in 1030 A.D. was marked by a gradual weakening of Turkish pressure on the plains of India. Though the Yamīnīs certainly continued to raid the territories of the neighbouring princes and once—about 1033 A.D., in the reign of Mas'ūd I (1030-40 A.D.)—are reported to have advanced as far east as Benares, they failed to produce during the period a single king or general who could even approach Maḥmūd in military skill and leadership. In the east the same thing happened in the kingdom of the Candellas. The successors of Vidyādhara lacked the ability of their illustrious predecessor and the vision of an empire-builder, and failed to profit by the weakness of their neighbours. The position that they occupied in the South-Central portion of Northern India gradually slipped into the hands of the Ḍāhala Kalacuris, who in Gāṅgeyadeva Vikramāditya (c.1030-41 A.D.) and Lakṣmī-Karṇa (c. 1041-70 A.D.) produced two men of outstanding personality. The latter formed an alliance with the Caulukya Bhīma I (c. 1022-64 A.D.) and the Karṇāṭas and defeated and probably killed the Paramāra Bhoja (c. 1010-55 A.D.) of Dhārā. By unceasing military activity Lakṣmī-Karṇa extended his dominions from Western Bengal to the borders of Gujarat. In the North he suppressed the independence of the Candellas, and became the unquestioned arbiter of a large portion of the Ganges-Jumna valley. Indian history seemed at last to find a personality who could emulate the achievements of the Puṣyabhūti Harṣa or the Gurjara-Pratīhāra Nāgabhaṭa II and Bhoja I, but again this hope was unrealised. The edifice of the Kalacuri empire, it seems, was built on unstable foundations ; and when Lakṣmi-Karṇa was overwhelmed by a series of defeats, his empire like that of Napoleon, collapsed with him. The position left vacant in the Ganges-Jumna valley by the fall of the Kalacuris was then occupied by the Gāhaḍavālas. Govindacandra of this dynasty ascended the throne in the first decade of the 12th century, and for nearly fifty years ruled over a strong kingdom which seems to have included almost the whole of the modern U. P,

and Behar. He was sufficiently powerful to offer effective resistance to the feeble attempts of the Yamīnīs to penetrate into the Ganges-Jumna valley but neither he nor his dynasty showed any outstanding vigour or ability. In the South-East the dynasties of Orissa and the Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts of the Madras Presidency were welded into a single administration by the Gaṅga king Coḍagaṅga-Anantavarman (c. 1076-1147 A. D.). His dominions seem to have sometimes extended from the lower courses of the Godavari to the Ganges; but here also there is no sign that either he or his successor wished or had ability to plan a North Indian Empire. In the Western portion of North India the fall of the Paramāras synchronised with the rise into importance of the Caulukyas of Aṇahilapāṭaka and the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī. In the first half of the 12th century the former in the reign of Jayasiṁha Siddharāja (c. 1094-1144) united under their sway, in addition to Gujarat and Kathiawar, large portions of Central India and Rajputana. The success of Jayasiṁha was fully maintained by his successor Kumārapāla (c. 1144-73 A.D.) During the first half of the 12th century the Cāhamānas had also established a strong kingdom in Rajputana with Śākambharī as their capital. They were undoubtedly the most considerable power in Rajputana during this period, and maintained contact with the growing kingdom of the Caulukyas on their south-western frontier. Sometime before 1164 A.D. they advanced into the Punjab and appear to have included under their sway most of the territories which now lie to the east of the Sutlej. This brought them into conflict with the declining Yamīnī Sultanate of Lahore and Ghazni and the Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj and Benares. In the first half of the 12th century the position of the former was growing precarious owing to the pressure both of the Cāhamānas on the east and of the rising of the Shansabānis of Ghūr. Before this period was over, fresh bands of Turks under the leadership of the princes of Ghūr had begun their depredations in India. In 1175 A.D. Mu'izzud-

Dīn Muḥammad ibn Sām had captured Multan and Uch, and though repulsed in 1178 A.D. in his attempt upon Anahilvada, had recovered sufficiently to capture Peshawar in the following year (1179 A.D.) from the Yamīnī Khusrau Malik (*c*. 1160-86 A.D.).

The accession of Pṛthvīrāja III (*c*. 1179-92 A.D.) to the throne of Śākambharī in about 1179 A.D. brings us to the next period (*c*. 1179-1200 A.D.). The records of this period seem to indicate that Pṛthvīrāja was the most important figure in the last quarter of the 12th century. His dominions included most of modern Rajputana and extended roughly from the Sutlej to the Betwa and possibly to the Ken, skirting the river Jumna on the north. The activities of the Caulukyas were paralysed by intrigue and dissensions, while the Senas and the Gaṅgas were far distant from the North-Western frontier of India. By his victories over the Cāndellas and the Gāhaḍavālas and his command over the cis-Sutlej districts, he had constituted himself the main barrier against the advance of the Turks from the Indus Valley. If the Yamīnīs could have held the new body of Turks in check for some time, there was just a possibility that Pṛthvīrāja with his undoubted military ability, might have so consolidated his dominions, as to be able to offer an effective check to the advance of the new invaders. But the descendants of Maḥmūd were too enfeebled to be able to save themselves from destruction. In A. D. 1186, Mu'izz ud-Dīn captured Lahore from the last representative of the Yamīnīs, and the Shansabānīs and Cāhamānas stood face to face. The victory in the second battle of Tarā'īn in 1192 A.D., which appears to have been won by superior generalship as well as by perfidy, practically put an end to the domination of the *Madhyadeśa* by the Hindus. The defeat of the Gāhaḍavālas was only a matter of detail.

In the period that followed, the Turks issued from their bases in the Madhyadeśa under intrepid and able adventurers to bring about the downfall of the dynasties that ruled in more distant parts of Northern and Peninsular India. As I have

already noticed, this process took a long time to complete, and was not attended with uniform success. Before it was finished, fresh bands from Central Asia had burst through the North-Western gates and were challenging the authority of the Muslim conquerors of India. The latter at last fell before these new-comers, and it was a mere accident, as I have said, that their conquerors were again Muslims. So history once more repeated itself.

As to the causes that lead to the success of the Muslims and the downfall of the Hindus, various reasons have been advanced by various scholars. Indian climate, deadening effect of the caste system, the demoralising influence of the cult of *ahiṁsā* preached by Buddhism and Jainism, a false sense of chivalry and other factors have been held to contribute to the overthrow of the Hindu dynasties. I am unable to discuss this question without a thorough analysis of the administrative, economic, religious and social systems of the period, which I hope to undertake in the third volume of this work. I would therefore reserve the discussion of the question for the present. But whatever factors are found by later investigations to have contributed to the downfall of the Hindus and the victory of Islam, it appears to me that the vigour and the insatiable thirst for plunder and destruction of the roving and hungry bands of Central Asia, which was strengthened by their own interpretation of Islam, and the superior generalship of their leaders, must have played a large part in the success of the Turks. The Indians were not less brave; but they failed to produce a Maḥmūd or a Mu'izz-ud-Dīn.[1]

[1] Prof. Dodwell very kindly suggested that I should expand these concluding remarks into the size of one of my bigger chapters say of about hundred pages or more. This would make my conclusions on the period accessible to the students of some of the British Universities who have not got enough time to go through all these details. Unfortunately the size of the two volumes has already become rather inconveniently large. So I am preparing a small volume entirely devoted to a synthetic survey of the period to suit the requirements of these students.

APPENDIX

Dynasties and the Territories controlled by them chronologically arranged.

A. D.		*Dynasties.*	*Territories.*[1]
c. 500—600 :—	1.	*Guhila-putras* (Guhilots).	Idar State in the North Division of the Bombay Presidency (?).
	2.	*Cāhamānas* (Cauhans).	Sambhar (*Śākambharī*) region in Rajputana (?).
c. 600—700 :—	1.	*Guhila-putras* (Guhilots) : Two branches.	(*i*) Mewar (*Medapāṭa*), Rajputana : Centre of power *Nāgadraha* or *Nāgahrada* (mod. Nagda). (*ii*) From Dabok in Udaipur (Mewar) State in the south to Chatsu in Jaipur on the north, in Rajputana : Capital probably *Dhavagarta* (mod. Dhod) in Jahazpur District, Udaipur or at Chatsu, Jaipur, Rajputana.
	2.	*Cāhamānas*	No change.
c. 700—800 :—	1.	*Guhila-putras* (Guhilots).	No change.
	2.	*Cāhamānas* (Cauhans).	No change.
	3.	*Haihayas* (Kalacuris).	Round about Kahla in Gorakhpur, U. P.
	4.	*Tomaras* (Tuars)	Delhi (*Yoginī-pura*, *Ḍhillikā*) and neighbouring regions (?).

[1] The territories must in every case be taken as only a rough indication. Exact delimitation of boundaries is not possible at this stage of our knowledge.

A.D.		*Dynasties.*	*Territories.*
c. 800—900 :—	1.	*Guhila-putras* (Guhilots).	No change.
	2.	*Cāhamānas* (Cauhans).	Portions of Marwar and Jaipur States, Rajputana : Capital *Śākambharī* (mod. Sambhar).
	3.	*Haihayas* (Kalacuris) : Two branches.	(*i*) Round about Kahla in Gorakhpur, U. P. (*ii*) Jubbulpore Division and the neighbouring regions (*Ḍāhala*) in C. P.: Capital *Tripurī* (mod. Tewar).
	4.	*Candrātreyas* (Candellas).	Bundelkhand (*Jejā-bhukti*) in C. I.: Capital *Kharjjuravāhaka* (mod. Khajraho).
	5.	*Paramāras* (Pāvars).	South and Central Gujarat, Bombay.
	6.	*Tomaras* (Tuars).	No change.
c. 900—1000 :—	1.	*Guhila-putras* (Guhilots).	Mewar, region round Partabgarh (in Rajputana), and Mandasor (in C.I.): Centres of power *Nāgadraha* and *Āghāṭa* (mod. Ahar).
	2.	*Cāhamānas* (Cauhans) : Three branches.	(*i*) Almost the whole of Marwar and Jaipur States and neighbouring regions, in Rajputana (*Sapādalakṣa*): Capital *Śākambharī*. (*ii* *Naddūla* (mod. Nadol) and the neighbouring regions in Godwar, Marwar in Rajputana. (*iii*) Partabgarh and the neighbouring regions in South Rajputana States Agency and C. I.

A.D.		Dynasties.	Territories.
c. 900—1000 :—	3.	*Haihayas* (Kalacuris): Two branches.	(*i*) Round about Kahla, in Gorakhpur, U. P.
			(*ii*) Jubbulpore and Chhattisgarh Divisions of C. P., portions of Baghelkhand and neighbouring regions in C. I.: Capital *Tripurī*.
	4.	*Candrātreyas* (Candellas).	Bundelkhand, Gwalior and portions of Bhopal Residencies in C. I.; Allahabad, Jhansi and Benares Divisions in U. P.: Centres of power *Kharjjuravāhaka* and *Kālañjara* (mod. Kalinjar).
	5.	*Kacchapaghātas* (Kachwāhas).	Portions of both Gwalior Residency (C. I.) and Bharatpur State, Rajputana.
	6.	*Paramāras* (Pāvars).	Western portions of the Northern Division and Khandesh of Bombay; Indore Residency, Bhopawar and portions of Bhopal Agencies in C. I.; and portions of Aurangabad Division of Hyderabad: Centre of power *Ujjayinī* (mod. Ujjain).
	7.	*Caulukyas* (Solaṅkis).	North Gujarat, Cutch and Kathiawar in Bombay; and Sanchor District (*Satyapura-maṇḍala*) in Marwar, Rajputana: Capital *Aṇahilapāṭaka* (mod. Anavada, 3 miles from Patan in N. Gujarat).
	8.	*Tomaras* (Tuars).	No change.

A. D.		*Dynasties.*	*Territories.*
c. 1000—1100 :—	1.	*Guhila-putras* (Guhilota).	Some hilly and inaccessible portions of *Medapāṭa* (Mewar), Rajputana.
	2.	*Cāhamānas* (Cauhans): Two branches.	(*i*) Nearly whole of Marwar (or Jodhpur) and Jaipur States and portions of Mewar in Rajputana. Capital *Śākambhari*. (*ii*) *Naddūla* (mod. Nadol) and the neighbouring regions in Marwar, Rajputana.
	3.	*Haihayas* (Kalacuris): Four branches.	(*i*) Kahla and (*ii*) Kasia branches in Gorakhpur, U. P. (*iii*) The *Ḍāhala* branch: (In the last quarter of the century) practically the whole of C. P. and C. I.; the Ganges-Jumna valley (U. P.), Tirhut Division and Shahabad District of Bihar, portions of Chhota Nagpur and Western Bengal: Capital *Tripuri*. (*iv*) *Tuṁmāṇa* branch in Chhattisgarh Division of C. P.: Centres of power *Tuṁmāṇa* (mod. Tumana in Lapha Zemindari) and *Ratnapura* (mod. Ratanpur): both in Bilaspur District, C. P.
	4.	*Candrātreyas* (Candellas).	[During the 1st quarter of the century:—] Bundelkhand and portions of Baghelkhand Agencies and portions of Gwalior and Bhopal Residencies in C.I.; Allahabad, Jhansi, Benares and possibly Meerut and Fyzabad Divisions in U. P.; portoins of Eastern Rajputana States Agency (Kotah, etc.) and Saugor and Damoh Districts in C. P.

A.D.	*Dynasties.*	*Territories.*
c. 1000—1100:—		[Partial eclipse in the 2nd quarter and complete eclipse in the 3rd.
		Revival of power in the 4th quarter in] Bundelkhand Agency in C. I., and portions of Jhansi Division, U. P.: Centres of power *Kharjuravāhaka* and *Kālañjara*.
	5. *Kacchapaghātas* (Kachwāhas): Three Branches.	Gwalior Residency, C. I., and portions of Eastern Rajputana States Agency (Bharatpur, etc.): Centres of power of the three branches—(*i*) Gwalior, (*ii*) Dubkund and (*iii*) Narwar.
	6. *Paramāras* (Pāvars): Five branches.	(*i*) Portions of Rajputana (Sirohi, Mewar, Banswara, Kotah, Bundi, etc.); Central and portions of Northern Divisions of Bombay (Khandesh to Konkan); Hyderabad (north of Godavari), Nerbudda Division, C. P.; and Malwa, Bhopal and Bhopawar Agencies of C. I.: Centres of power *Ujjayinī* and *Dhārā*. [Almost complete eclipse during c. 1055-60 A.D. Partial revival in the 2nd half of the century.] Other branches in (*ii*) Sirohi State (centre of power *Candrāvātī*), (*iii*) Banswara State (Vāgaḍa). (*iv*) Round about Jalor (*Jāvālipura*) and (*v*) Kiradu (*Kirāṭakupa*): all four in Rajputana.

A. D.		*Dynasties.*	*Territories.*
c. 1000—1100 :—	7.	*Caulukyas* (Solaṅkis).	Northern Division (north of Narbada), Gujarat, Kathiawar, and Cutch of Bombay; Sirohi and the neighbouring regions in S. Marwar in Rajputana: Capital *Aṇahila-pāṭaka*.
	8.	*Tomaras* (Tuars).	No change.
c. 1100—1200 :—	1.	*Guhila-putras* (Guhilots): One main and four minor branches.	[Power still under partial eclipse.] (A) comparatively inaccessible portions of Mewar, Marwar and Dungarpur: Centre of power *Āghāṭa* (mod. Ahar). (B) Minor branches: (*i*) in *Saurāṣṭra* (Kathiawar), (*ii*) *Naḍulaḍāgikā* (mod. Nadlai in Jodhpur State), (*iii*) in Dungarpur (*Vāgaḍa*), and (*iv*) at Sesoda (in Mewar).
	2.	*Cāhamānas* (Cauhans): One main and four minor branches.	(A) Ambala Division, Patiala, Nabha and portions of Simla Hill States in the Punjab; Jaipur, Alwar, Bikaner, most of Marwar, portions of Mewar, Bundi, Kotah, Tonk, Jhalawar, Karauli, Dholpur, and Bharatpur States in Rajputana, portions of Gwalior Residency and Bundelkhand Agency in C. I.; and Jhansi Division in U. P: Centres of power *Śākambharī* (mod. Sambhar) and *Ajayameru* (mod. Ajmer). (B) Minor branches at (*i*) *Raṇastambhapur* (mod. Ranthambhor) in Jaipur State, (*ii*)

A.D.	*Dynasties.*	*Territories.*
c. 1100—1200 :—		*Naddūla* (mod. Nadol), *(iii)* *Jāvālipura* (mod. Jolor) and *(iv)* *Satyapura* (mod. Sanchor); all in Rajputana.
	3. *Haihayas* (Kalacuris): One main and two minor branches.	(A) *Ḍāhala* branch in Jubbulpur Division (south of Bhanrer Range), C.P. and Baghelkhand Agency in C. I.: Centre of power *Tripurī* (mod. Tewar). (B) Minor branches: (*i*) Gorakhpur, U. P. (Kasia branch); (*ii*) *Tuṁmāṇa* branch independently held the Chhattishgarh Division and the neighbouring regions (*Mahā-Kosala*, *Dakṣiṇa-Kosala* or *Kosala*): Centres of power *Tuṁmāṇa* (mod. Tumana in Lapha Zamindari of Bilaspur District) and *Ratnapura* (mod. Ratanpur in Bilaspur District).
	4. *Candrātreyas* (Candellas).	Portions of Jhansi Division of U.P., Bhopal, Bundelkhand and portions of Baghelkhand Agencies (north of Kaimur Range) of C. I.; and Saugor and Damoh Districts, in C. P.: Centres of power Kalinjar (*Kālañjara*), Mahoba (*Mahotsavanagara*), Ajaigarh (*Ajayadurga*) and Khajraho (*Kharjjura-vāhaka*). [Power partially eclipsed in the last quarter of the 12th century.]

A.D.	*Dynasties.*	*Territories.*
c. 1100—1200 :—	5. *Kacchapaghātas* (Kachwāhas): Two branches.	Portions of Gwalior Residency in C. I.: (*i*) Narwar and (*ii*) Gwalior (?) branches. The latter possibly shifted to Eastern Rajputana in the 2nd quarter of the century with Daosa and then Amber as the centres of its power.
	6. *Paramāras* (Pāvars): One main and three minor branches.	(A) (*i*) [During c. 1100-1142 and c. 1192-1200 A.D.] Indore Residency. Bhopawar, Malwa and portions of Bhopal Agencies in C. I. and portions of Kotah, Tonk and Jhalawar in Rajputana: Centres of power *Ujjayinī* and *Dhārā*.
		(*ii*) [During c. 1142-92 A.D.] Power of the main line broken into fragments: (*a*) one fragment probably ruled in portions of Kotah, Tonk and Jhalawar, in Rajputana and the other (*b*) probably in portions of Bhopal Agency, C.I.
		(B) Minor branches in (*i*) Sirohi (capital *Candrāvati*), (*ii*) Jalor (*Jāvālipura*) and (*iii*) Kiradu (*Kirāṭakūpa*) in Rajputana.
	7. *Caulukyas* (Solaṅkis).	Portions of Sind, Cutch, Kathiawar, Gujarat, and portions of Konkana in Bombay; almost the whole of Rajputana; and portions of Agra Division in U. P.: portions of Gwalior and and Indore Residencies, Malwa, Bhopawar and portions of Bhopal Agencies in C. I.: Centre of power *Aṇahila-pāṭaka*.

A.D.	*Dynasties.*	*Territories.*
c. 1100—1200 :—		[During the 4th quarter of the century the area became much reduced by the loss of control in Konkana in Bombay, portions of Rajputana, and C. I.]
c. 1200—1300 :—	1. *Guhila-putras* (Guhilots): Two branches.	(*i*) Mewar and the neighbouring regions, portions of Sirohi and Marwar: Centres of power *Nāgadraha* (Nagda), *Āghāṭa* (Ahar) and *Citrukūṭa* (Chitor).
		(*ii*) Feudatory branch at Sesoda in Mewar.
	2. *Cāhamānas* (Cauhans): Four branches.	(*i*) Region round Ranthambhor (*Raṇastambhapura*) in Jaipur State, Rajputana ; (*ii*) Region round Narwar in Gwalior Residency, C. I. (?) ; (*iii*) Region round (*iii*) *Jāvālipura* (Jalor) ; and (*iv*) *Satyapura* (Sanchor) in Marwar, Rajputana.
	3. *Haihayas* (Kalacuris).	Round *Tuṁmāṇa* (mod. Tumana), Bilaspur District, Chhattisgarh Division (*Mahākosala*), C. P. (?) Also in portion of Jubbulpore Division (*Ḍāhala*) [as a minor power].
	4. *Candrātreyas* (Candellas).	[Eclipse of power during the first few years of the century : Then revival in] Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand Agencies and portions of Gwalior

A.D.	*Dynasties.*	*Territories.*
c. 1200—1300:—		Residency in C. I. Also portions of U. P. (Jhansi Division): Centres of power Ajaigarh (*Jaya-durga*) and Kalinjar (*Kālañjara*).
	5. *Kacchapaghātas* (Kachwāhas).	Region round Amber in Jaipur State, Rajputana: Centre of power Amber.
	6. *Paramāras* (Pāvars): Two branches.	(*i*) Indore and portions of Gwalior Residencies, Malwa, Bhopal and Bhopawar Agencies in C. I.; Saugor, Narsingpur, Hoshangabad and Nimar Districts of C. P.; and portions of Gujarat along the lower courses of the Narbada up to the Sae (including Broach): Centre of power *Dhāra* and *Māṇḍu* [During the 2nd half of the century Paramāra power rapidly declined]; (*ii*) Minor branch in and round Sirohi: Centre of power at *Candrāvatī*.
	7. *Caulukyas* (Solaṅkis).	Portions of Gujarat, Kathiawar, and Cutch in Bombay; portions of Marwar and Sirohi in Rajputana: Centre of power *Aṇahila-pāṭaka* [About the 2nd half of the century Caulukyas lose control in Rajputana.]
c. 1300—1400:—	1. *Guhila-putras* (Guhilots).	Mewar and the neighbouring regions: Capital *Citrakūṭa* (Chitor). [Power eclipsed c. 1303 A.D.]

A.D.		*Dynasties.*	*Territories.*
c. 1300—1400:—	2.	*Cāhamānas* (Cauhans): Four branches.	(*i*) At Jalor (*Jāvālipura*), (*ii*) in Sirohi (capital *Candrāvatī*, (*iii*) at *Satyapura* (Sanchor) and (*iv*) in Bundi: [All in Rajputana].
	[illegible].	*Haihayas* (Kalacuris).	Portions of Jubbulpore, and Chattishgarh Divisions of C. P. [in a decadent condition].
	4.	*Candrātreyas* (Candellas).	Portions of Jhansi Division of U. P.; Bundelkhand Agency in C. I.; and Damoh and Jubbulpore Districts in C. P. (?): Centre of power Kalinjar (*Kālañjara*).
	5.	*Kacchapaghātas* (Kachwāhas).	Round about Amber in Jaipur State, Rajputana.
	6.	*Paramāras* (Pāvars).	Indore and portions of Gwalior Residency; Malwa, Bhopal and Bhopawar Agencies (?).
	7.	*Caulukyas* (Solaṅkis).	Portions of Gujarat, Kathiawar and Cutch: Capital *Aṇahila-pāṭaka*.

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(Ancient and Mediaeval Names.)

[The Latitudes and Longitudes are in most cases only approximate, but it is hoped, they will help in locating the places on the maps. After the name, the volume of the work is indicated in Roman and then the number of map in Arabic integers; last of all come Lat & Long.]

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P. 702, l. 9, fn. 2	,,	Caulukyas, the traditional enemy of the Rastrakuṭas; see ..	,,	Caulukyas; see .....
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P. 718, l. 3, fn. 1	,,	*Baṭeśvar stone inscription*	,,	*Baṭeśvar stone-inscription*
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BY THE SAME AUTHOR

1. The Dynastic History of Northern India : Early Mediaeval Period. With a Foreword by Dr. L. D. Barnett, Vol. I. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xl + 664 + ii, tricolour maps 10. Calcutta University Press, 1931. Rs. 10. Foreign **15s.**

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, October, 1933.—"In this work Dr H. C. Ray gives us one of the most important contributions to Indian history that has appeared in recent years. The period covered is the tenth to the twelfth centuries, the age of transition from Hindu to Muslim sovereignty in Northern India. It is the flourishing period of the Rajput dynasties, for whose history we have hitherto been too much dependent on late tradition or Muslim sources. These are now corrected from epigraphical and Hindu literary records. It is the period of contact and interaction of Muslim and Hindu cultures, and a critical investigation of the mutual influences and borrowings is most important for our comprehension of the history of the later period. Dr Ray has studied the very considerable material for the history of the period which is available in Hindu and Muhammadan, literary and epigraphic sources. He has digested it with great critical ability and given a consecutive and coherent account of the various kingdoms into which Northern India was divided.

This volume, the first of three, deals with Sind, the Panjab, Kashmir, Nepal and Assam,
Kanauj, Bengal and Orissa. The greater part of the ground is covered for the first time. It
is only rarely, as in the case of the Pālas and Gurjaras, that Dr Ray has had a path made
for him, but in such cases also he is able to throw much new light on a complicated story.
One does not know what to admire most: the skill with which Dr Ray has pieced together
the scattered Muslim references in Arabic sources and reconciled them with the scanty Indian
records in dealing with Sind and the North-west, or his critical treatment of the Kashmir,
Nepal, and other chronicles, or his command of the extensive epigraphical material in his
treatment of the eastern part of the area he covers in this volume.

The admirably clear maps are a feature of the book, and the genealogical lists add to its
value, while it has an unusually satisfactory index. The book has been printed with care
which it merits. It is readable, comprehensive and accurate. Dr Ray has undertaken a
heavy task, and this first volume shows that he will carry it through most successfully. We
need say no more for, referring to Dr Ray's modest quotation in his preface, it will take a
very clever man with a very fine sieve to find faults in his book. We are also grateful to the
Calcutta University for making this great work fully accessible."

Lusac's Oriental List and Book Review Quarterly, Vol. XLIII, No. 4; *Oct.-*
Dec., 1932: "In Dr Hemchandra Ray's 'Dynastic History of Northern India,' Vol I of
which has been published we have a contribution to Indian History of the first rank......
Dr Ray has utilised the vast amount of material in the sources very thoroughly, sifted it
most completely, and given us a consecutive history of the various dynasties that ruled
in Northern India in this period, so thoroughly and satisfactorily that one forgets the
tremendous amount of preliminary labour involved. A feature of the book is the valuable
maps and genealogical tables. Dr. Ray's mastery of Arabic sources is well seen in
his chapters on Sind and on the Shahis of Kandahar; his critical judgment in dealing with
Hindu literary sources is well seen in his account of Kashmir, while in dealing with
Bengal he shows his command of the epigraphical material for the history of India,
and reveals an uncanny skill in making a consecutive story out of what are only
really incidental references ....The author's courage in undertaking this great task
is only equalled by the uniform success with which he has achieved his aim. We shall
look forward to the two concluding volumes of the work, which puts its author in the
front rank of writers on Indian History. "The Dynastic History of Northern India" is the
most important contribution to the Indian history that we have noticed in these pages for
many years. It is readable, accurate and exhaustive, and it is a matter of pride to us in
London that the book is a product of the School of Oriental Studies."

Prof. F. W. Thomas (Oxford): "......It is a very full, in fact so far as I am aware exhaustive, assemblage of all materials relating to one of the most obscure periods, whether contained in Indian or extra-Indian (Persian, Arabic, etc.) sources. The work seems to me to testify to great care and accuracy, and it would be a valuable aid to study and book of reference for scholars at every stage."

Dr. L. D. Barnett (British Museum) : "I consider that Dr. Ray's work is the most valuable history of India that has appeared for many years, and cordially congratulate him and the University of Calcutta on the publication of the first volume. A book of this character was urgently needed both in India and in the West. There exists no general history of India which treats the subject with such fullness in detail; and the present work is equally marked by soundness of judgment and synoptic width of view."

Prof. Dr. M. Winternitz (Prague) : "This is certainly one of the most valuable publications issued from the Calcutta University Press, and the most comprehensive work I know of, on an important period (c. 916 to 1196 A.D.) of Indian History. As it is based on a careful examination of literary, epigraphic, and numismatic materials, it will be indispensable to every student of Indian history. The coloured maps, the genealogical tables, the synchronistic table at the end of the volume, and the full index will be found extremely useful. I am looking forward, with great interest, to the continuation of the work, and more especially to the third volume which is to deal with the economic, social and religious and literary history of the time."

Prof. Jules Bloch (Paris) : "I shall find this book very useful indeed : I admire that vast knowledge of the author, and the thorough and critical way he has dealt with a bewildering mass of texts, mainly epigraphical. I am also very thankful for the ten maps, carefully prepared by the author himself, where old names are distinguished by special ink; they add a lot to the value of the book, valuable as the text is."

Prof. A. Berriedale Keith (Edinburgh) : "Dr. Ray's treatise manifests every sign of careful research and historical skill in the estimate of the value of evidence as well as ability to present an ordered narrative with precision and lucidity, and I shall look forward with pleasure to the appearance of the remaining volumes which will constitute a most notable contribution to our knowledge of an obscure and important epoch of the history of the northern dynasties."

Prof. E. J. Rapson (Cambridge) : "Please accept my sincere congratulations on your success in exploring all the various sources for the history of Northern India on the eve of the Muhammadan conquest, and on the clear and scholarly manner in which you have recorded the results of your investigations."

Sir Thomas Arnold : "This carefully compiled treatise, based on a searching examination of materials that have not hitherto received sufficient attention from historical students, constitute a really important addition to the literature on the history of India."

J. Allan (British Museum) : "Its thorough and critical examination and comparison of all the sources for the period, literary and epigraphical, Muslim and Hindu, render it a mine of information on a very complicated and obscure period."

Sir D. Ross : "I consider it a most valuable contribution to the history of a period which has not been hitherto treated from the Hindu and the Muslim point of view."

Prof. H. H. Dodwell (School of Oriental Studies, London): "Ray's work on the Dynastic History of Northern India will be exceedingly useful to all students of the period."

Prof. V. Minorsky (Paris): "I see what an amount of work it represents! You must be sincerely congratulated on the results."

Prof Dr. F. O. Schrader (Kiel): "...........The impression I have received from the book is a most favourable one This is, indeed, an admirable work on the publication of which the University must be congratulated I shall feel much obliged to you for sending me also the subsequent volumes, of which the third one, as it deals with the social and economic conditions, will be particularly interesting for me."

Dr E J Thomas (Cambridge): ....' There is no doubt of the need of such an undertaking, and the way in which you are carrying it out with such clearness of statement and fulness of references and soundness of judgment and also with such high sense of requirements of historical research fully justifies all the appreciative notices that you have had. I am glad that the work is to the honour of India and I trust that it will have an important influence on the advance of Indian historical research generally."

Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Neue Folge. Band 18, Leipzig, 1934,— .... So ist ein recht nützliches Nachschlagewerk entstanden ....

2. **Notes on War and Espionage in Ancient India, Parts I & II.** *Calcutta Review*, 1926; *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Vol. XIV, 1927: Calcutta University Press.

The History of Ancient Indian war and military movements as well as espionage is a highly interesting study. Here are the first two instalments of a comprehensive study on the subject.

3. **Economic Policy and Functions of the Kautilian State**: *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Vol. XIII, 1926: Calcutta University Press.

This is the revised and enlarged version of the author's paper.—"Was State Socialism known in Ancient India?" Published in 1922 in Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes, Vol. III, Part I, *Orientalia*. The author has drawn attention to an interesting parallel between the economic systems of Germany of Bismarck and the Kautiliyan State.

4. **Madra**: Journal and Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal (*New Series*), Vol. XVIII, 1922.

This paper for the first time drew the attention of scholars to the need of making a thorough study of the Tribal Janapadas of Ancient India. It traces the history of Madra from the earliest times to the eleventh century when it was incorporated in the Turkish kingdom of Ghazni.

5. **Position of the Brahmana in Kautilya** : Proceedings and Transactions of the Second Oriental Conference, 1922.

This paper reveals a picture of the position of the Brāhmaṇa in the Hindu Polity which in many respects is materially different from the sectarian representations. It will be of some interest to the student of Indian Social History.

6. **Antiquarian Pamphlets** :

(i) **Lala—a Note,** *JASB.*, 1922, No. 7.

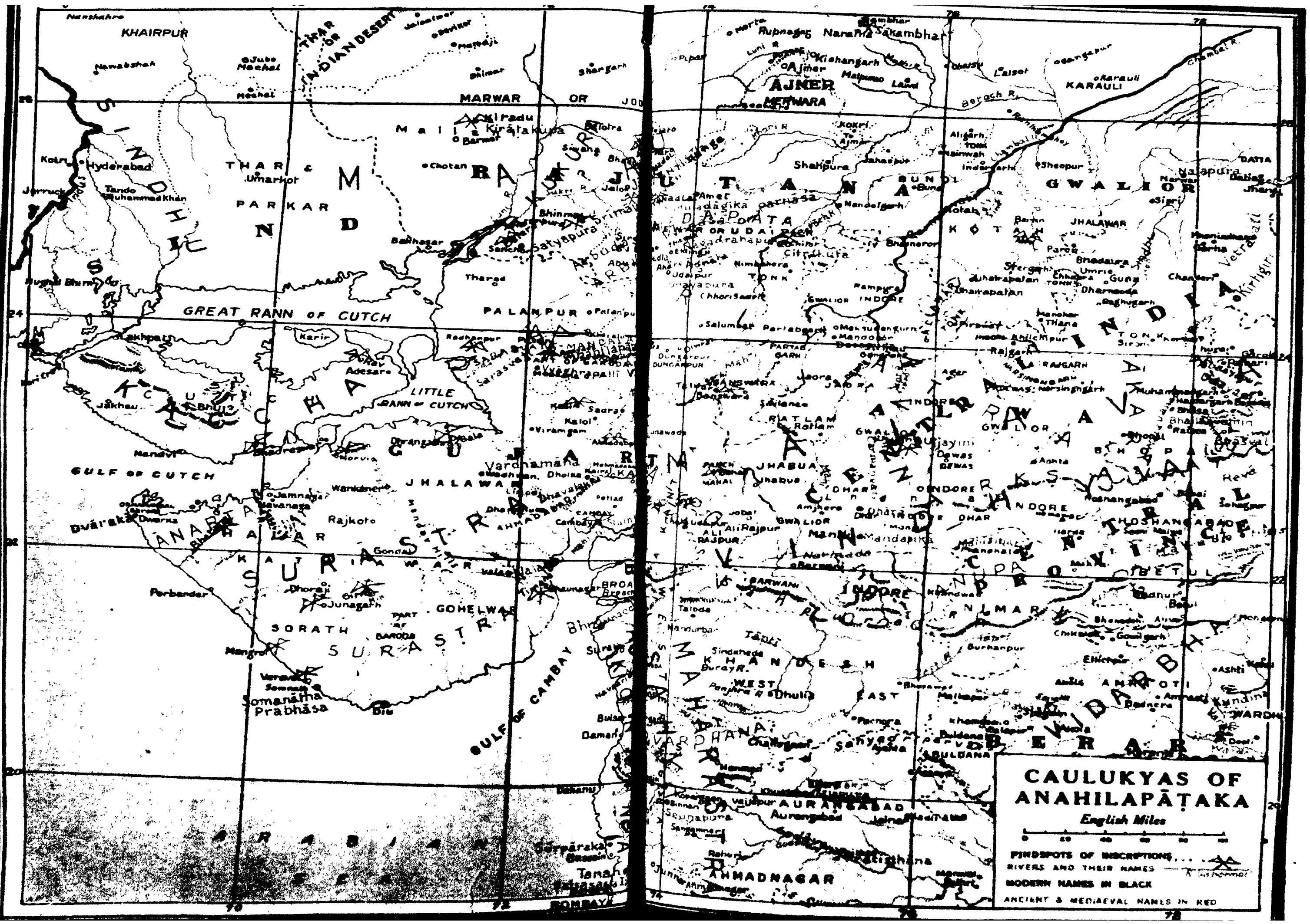
(ii) **The first Scientific Excavation in Bengal,** *Calcutta Review*, 1923.

(iii) **The Andhau inscriptions,** *Indian Antiquary*, 1923, Vol. LII.

(iv) **Why did not Alexander cross the Beas ?** *JASB.*, 1923, No. 8.

(v) **The Indian Alphabet,** *Indian Antiquary*, 1923, Vol. LII.

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CAULUKYAS OF
ANAHILAPĀṬAKA
English Miles
FINDSPOTS OF INSCRIPTIONS
RIVERS AND THEIR NAMES
MODERN NAMES IN BLACK
ANCIENT & MEDIAEVAL NAMES IN RED
KHAIRPUR
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THAR & PARKAR
GREAT RANN OF CUTCH
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GULF OF CUTCH
GULF OF CAMBAY
PALANPUR
AJMER
MERWARA
KARAULI
GWALIOR
KOTAH
JHALAWAR
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Prabhāsa
Diu
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